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THE

DANES AND THE SWEDES

BEING

An Account

OF A

VISIT TO DENMARK,

INCLUDING

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AND THE DANISH ISLANDS;

WITH

A PEEP INTO JUTLAND,

AND

A JOURNEY ACROSS THE PENINSULA OF SWEDEN.

EMBRACING

A SKETCH OF THE MOST INTERESTING POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

BY

CHARLES HENRY SCOTT,

AUTHOR OF

"THE BALTIC, THE BLACK SEA, AND THE CRIMEA."

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PREFACE.

THE kind reception given by reviewers and the public to his volume entitled "The Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Crimea," induced the Author to look over his notes taken during a visit to Scandinavia, and, after adding other valuable matter, to arrange the whole in the present form for publication.

By avoiding minute notices of uninteresting facts and passing over trivial incidents of travel — neither indulging in long descriptions of localities nor plunging deeply into statistics — the Author trusts that, without inflicting dry details upon the reader, the following pages will be found to contain much information on the present state and past history of Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark, and Sweden; on their physical peculiarities, and on those archæological remains that form a link

between their present inhabitants and the race which existed in them a thousand years before the birth of Christ.

There is a wild romance about the history of these Northern regions, that rivals even those thrilling annals of the East to which so many readers fly for excitement or amusement. Indeed no countries are richer in stirring legends, in heroic actions, or in tragic deeds, than Denmark and Sweden.

The Author has met with no book of travels through the Danish Islands by the route he took, save always that invaluable companion and friend to all travellers in Europe, a volume of "Murray's Hand Books."

For some interesting information on the military, social, commercial, and industrial state of the Scandinavian countries up to the present date, the Author is indebted to the volumes of the "Revue des deux Mondes, Annuaire," and "La Baltique," a charming work by M. le Duc, published a few months since in Paris.

January 22nd, 1856.

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THE

DANES AND THE SWEDES.

CHAPTER I.

HELIGOLAND.—THE ELBE AND HAMBURGH.—A HOLY MONK.—A RUSSIAN LOVER.—ALTONA.—UNBECOMING COSTUME.

AFTER visiting all the principal towns of Belgium and Holland, we embarked at Amsterdam for Hamburg on the 30th of April, 1850. The steamer was slow, the weather was boisterous, and as we lay in the narrow berth prostrate with exhaustion, breathing a vile atmosphere impregnated with the effluvium of bilge water, and feeling half suffocated from the total absence of ventilation, we had ample time, during the first twenty-four hours of the voyage, to think over the many personal inconveniences and disagreeables entailed by a love of travelling.

We had just reasoned ourself into the belief that the man possessing a large organ of inhabitiveness, who sticks with unchanging tenacity to one quiet locality, floating

down the smooth stream of life unruffled and undisturbed by that wild excitement which sways the enthusiastic traveller when in motion — that intense longing after new scenes, and fresh incidents when at rest — is, after all, the happier mortal of the two, when, early on the morning of the 2nd of May, we were informed that the Island of Heligoland was just visible in the distance. All discomforts were forgotten on this announcement, all sober reflections vanished; we rushed to the deck, turned our eyes in the direction indicated, and beheld a dark speck that broke the clear line of the horizon.

Is that spot all which now remains of the once much larger Helg-land, or Holy Isle, whereon was celebrated, in remote ages, the mysterious worship of the Goddess *Hertha*, the *Mother of Earth*, adored by the ancient Germans? On which temples were subsequently erected to Jupiter, Mars, Vesta, and a divinity called Fosta, or Phoseta; and where, after the introduction of Christianity, arose monasteries and churches, royal citadels, and palaces? It is! but heathen temples, Christian altars, and regal strongholds, have long since disappeared, and the surging waters now roar over those sites, once stained with the blood of human sacrifices — those spots whence rose towards heaven the solemn chant of cowled monk, or the boisterous revelry of mailed warrior. This encroachment of the sea has been rapid, and is still continuing, so we may fairly presume that the whole island will be swallowed up before many more centuries have passed away.

We reached the mouth of the Elbe about eight in the morning, but as yet could see no land on either side, and nothing but the turbid waters indicated our having entered

that noble river which takes its rise in the giant mountains of Bohemia and Silesia, more than seven hundred miles from its embouchure.

At length the land came into view, fertile on the Hanoverian bank, where the trees were clothed with the young, fresh foliage of spring; while the Holstein side appeared monotonous and uninteresting, at times even dreary. After passing the town of Glückstadt, however, an agreeable change was observed; smiling villas peeped from the midst of gardens and trees — quiet retreats, where the wealthy Hamburghers endeavour to forget, in the charms of Flora, their adoration of Mammon.

The tall spire of St. Michael's church could be seen, long before we reached Hamburgh, shooting with grace and beauty into the sky; and on approaching nearer, the taper masts of numberless vessels showed out in distinct lines on the face of a clear firmament; while, on entering the harbour, the last glowing rays of the setting sun fell on the surrounding buildings, imparting to their varied architecture a light and picturesque effect.

There reigned in the streets, on landing, a degree of quietness which rendered it difficult to believe we stood within the precincts of that great mart wherein are stored the products of all nations, and which is peopled by a hundred and thirty thousand souls, nearly all engaged in, or dependent upon, commerce. Nor was the feeling subsequently removed, for Hamburgh, when compared to commercial towns of importance in England, is tranquil and quiet in the extreme. This is accounted for by the circumstance of all merchandise being moved about in boats on canals which intersect the town, so that the

streets are free from drays, carts, and other vehicles, with their attendant noise and movement.

It was only on the following day when the hour for opening the Börse approached, and every avenue leading to it became filled with an unbroken stream of men wending their way to the great centre of business, that we fully realised the fact of being in the midst of one of the most active and persevering communities of the world,—in the greatest and most opulent of those cities that once formed the Hanseatic League, which exercised such a powerful influence over the political and moral condition of Europe during the Middle Ages.

Good fortune led us to the Hotel de l'Europe, in which we took up quarters during our sojourn in Hamburgh, and a more comfortable, well-conducted establishment, it would be impossible to find. The building is of great size, but is one only of a number of enormous hotels situated on the Jungfernstieg, and overlooking the beautiful lake of Alster. These hotels have all been built since the great fire, and, from their size and architectural beauty, form a striking feature of the place, which possesses but few public buildings of sufficient external attractions to claim the notice of the passing stranger.

The Börse, however, is a noble pile, and worthy of the city. We entered it during the hours of business, and ascending to the gallery, looked down upon the living mass that surged about like the waves of a troubled sea, while a thousand voices [illegible]led their discordant sounds, which ascended to the lofty roof, and came rolling back upon the ear loud as the deafening roar of a railway train when tearing madly through a tunnel. It was curious to

mark upon the various countenances but one prevailing expression; one thought alone possessed that multitude, — the desire of gain.

There is no city in Europe presenting greater contrasts than Hamburgh. Step from the modern to the ancient part, and you are suddenly transferred from the present day to the Middle Ages; but there are left no buildings of an early date which are grand or imposing, though the quaint street architecture is often bizarre or picturesque in the extreme; the very dilapidation of parts contributing in no slight degree to produce this effect.

All vestiges of that monastery founded by Anchaire, or St. Anscarius, a pious French monk, in the middle of the ninth century, and of the citadel, previously erected by Charlemagne, have long since disappeared, yet it was beneath their protecting wings that a small village first sprang up, which formed the nucleus of this great and prosperous city.

St. Anscarius was endowed with an intellect in advance of his age, while he possessed a perseverance and an enthusiasm in propagating the tenets of Christianity which no obstacles could check. He pushed his way into Denmark, penetrated to the heart of Sweden, did not hesitate to preach the Gospel to those nations which still offered up human beings as the most agreeable sacrifices to their god Odin, who still believed that the only certain title for admission to the everlasting joys of "Valhalla" was by dying, sword in hand, upon the battle field; or — in the event of escaping this ardently desired death, — by throwing themselves from the summit of a precipice so high that their destruction was certain.

In spite of strong veneration for their own gods, the gods of their fathers; in spite of their detestation of Christianity, the religion of their enemies; in spite of privation, insult, and danger, St. Anscarius went perseveringly and undauntedly on, until he succeeded in gaining the ears of the Danish and Swedish kings, disposed them to listen to his words of beneficent truth, and thus sowed the germs of that religion which shortly afterwards superseded a sensual worship, a revolting idolatry.

Thus the ground on which Hamburgh now stands has a thousand years of hallowed memory, as the spot whence journeyed forth those missionaries who converted Scandinavia, which had continued pagan so many centuries after the introduction of Christianity into other parts of Europe.

The houses of the rich merchants of Hamburgh are said to be luxuriously fitted up internally, and to contain some choice pictures; but there exists no city of such size, wealth, and importance which displays to the stranger so few works of art possessing high merit, whether in architecture, sculpture, or painting. There is an indifferent Museum; but everything which has a tendency to cultivate the public taste, or elevate the intellect, appears to languish beneath the all-absorbing influence of money-making. Nor does literature of the best class here find a fruitful soil; the charms of the table, the pursuit of dissipation, and the pleasures of the theatre, are the chief attractions when the cares of business are thrown aside: so that Hamburgh is celebrated for sumptuous dinners; is notorious for a number of public ball-rooms, the resorts of the licentious; and boasts the possession of one of the

largest theatres in Germany. There are, however, some noble charities, which are supported on a most liberal scale, and not only "cover a multitude of sins," but do infinite credit to the Hamburghers.

We wandered through the cemetery outside the town; it was in good order, but we were astonished to see in the adjoining grave to an open one, coffin after coffin piled up until within a foot of the surface; and as those about to be deposited would touch the sides of their neighbours, — supposing this to be the usual arrangement, — there must exist a great mass of coffins having scarcely any earth between or above them.

We met at the table d'hôte a young Russian merchant, who spoke broken English, and displayed great anxiety to make us his confidant. He had a singular habit of mixing up business with sentiment, and never failed to introduce the name of his lady-love into conversations on his commercial transactions. On one occasion he drew a miniature of the fair one from his bosom, and called upon our gallantry to pronounce an opinion on the beauty of the original. His eyes sparkled with delight, and his countenance radiated so much pleasure, that we could not find it in our heart to give an adverse opinion of his idol's charms, though we could see nothing in her likeness to warrant a rapturous admiration. We were however somewhat shocked on ascertaining that this devoted lover thought quite as much about business as his approaching nuptials, for he confidentially told us that he intended to marry only when he could find time.

Our ties to Hamburgh were even less strong than the Russian's to his love. We might have devoted a longer

period to the place had there been nothing better to do; but as it gained no powerful hold on our affections, we quitted it without regret after two days' sojourn.

Leaving by the suburb of St. Paul, a few minutes' walk brought us to Altona, the largest and most important town of Holstein. It cannot claim so illustrious an origin as its neighbour, nor boast ten centuries of antiquity. Consisting at first only of an insignificant fishing station, it is not two hundred years since Altona had the dignified rank of a town conferred upon it by Frederick III.; but it has gradually increased, and now possesses a population of thirty thousand souls.

Close to Hamburgh, and threatening to become a rival in commerce, Altona could not fail to excite the jealousy and hatred of its powerful and wealthy neighbour; it therefore early became, and continued for a long time, the object of contention between the Hamburghers and the Dukes of Holstein. It had, also, other days of misfortune and vicissitude. The intrepid Swedish general, Magnus Stenbock, after performing prodigies of valour, entered Altona—which had neither garrison nor fortifications—with his victorious army, entirely destroyed the place by fire in the month of January 1713, and by this barbarous act reduced its inhabitants to poverty and suffering, while he tarnished for ever his own, otherwise well-earned, reputation. Nor did Altona escape the general ravages of war at the beginning of this century, having suffered greatly from them in 1807.

The inhabitants of Altona enjoy perfect freedom of religion; and there are consequently no less than six edifices for the service of as many different Christian

sects, independent of two synagogues for the accommodation of the Jews, amounting to about two thousand in number.

The commercial quarter of the town, where all its life and activity are concentrated, extends along the right bank of the Elbe, the eastern end being so close to Hamburgh that the two appear from the river to constitute but one city. This proximity seems to have suggested the name of the place, *All-to-nah*, in the "patois" of the country, signifying "too near."

The commerce of Altona is greater than that of any other port of the Duchies, and is steadily increasing; the repeal of the Corn Laws in England, and the removal of restrictions on the importation of live stock, have given a great impetus to the trade of the place, and the railway between it and Kiel, branches from which must eventually be carried to all the principal towns in the Duchies, cannot fail to prove highly advantageous.

There are many manufactories, tanneries, distilleries, and breweries, the beer of Altona being considered superior to any other in the country. The town is free from customs' duties, and the inhabitants exempt from the burthen of having soldiers quartered in their dwellings, beside which they enjoy many other privileges.

Among the public buildings are a fine Hotel de Ville, an Observatory, an Orphan Asylum, a Mint, and a College. There is not a good hotel in the place, but an excellent refreshment room at the railway-station supplies this desideratum to the traveller who is merely passing through. The streets removed from the business quarter are dull and lifeless; we walked through the principal one,

a kind of boulevard, with an avenue of trees on each side, but although it was a lovely day, scarcely a person was to be seen. The houses of the wealthiest merchants are unpretending edifices, more distinguished for neatness and modesty than for taste or beauty.

We left Altona for Kiel, by rail, in the afternoon. The terminus has a most creditable building, and everything was conducted at the station with order. The carriages are luxuriously and tastefully fitted up, while the second class, in comfort and propriety of arrangement, might be pronounced better than the first on most English lines. This is not, however, a singular instance of the superiority of foreign railway carriages over those of England, for every country in Europe claims the merit of being in advance of us in this respect, as well as in many of the regulations connected with passenger traffic.

We can quite comprehend the desire of shareholders to obtain large dividends; but the public also have claims that are fairly entitled to consideration, and amongst them may be mentioned a proper attention to cleanliness, in which point it is to be regretted that the English generally bear a very unfavourable comparison with foreign railway carriages.

The line to Kiel leads through a flat uninteresting country, there being scarcely a tree to relieve the general tameness. Large tracts of waste land are seen on either hand; but that which has been reclaimed is well cultivated, and as draining with other improvements are actively going on, the greater part of the district in the vicinity of the railway will probably be brought under the plough in the course of a few years.

The robust frames, cheerful countenances, and respectable clothing of the peasantry, indicate prosperity. The women are endowed with a large amount of "en bon point," the appearance of which is, perhaps, exaggerated by their unpicturesque costume, generally consisting of a short bed gown worn over the petticoat; they, however, are scrupulously clean in their persons, and pretty faces are by no means rare among them.

On approaching Kiel a favourable change takes place in the country; meadows and trees, scattered or in clusters, cover the slopes of undulating land, and the farm-houses become more numerous. At length the silver bosom of the Bay burst into sight, and there lay the diminutive fleet of Schleswig Holstein tranquilly reposing on its unruffled waters. But we had scarcely time to notice these interesting objects ere the train arrived at the station; soon after which we were ensconced in indifferent quarters at Marsily's Hotel.

CHAP. II.

KIEL. — A REVOLUTION. — PROGRESS OF REVOLUTION. — FRIENDSHIP AND JEALOUSY. — FIGHTING STUDENTS AND EXCITED PROFESSORS. — A DUCAL PALACE AND SHADED WALKS. — UNNECESSARY PRECAUTIONS.

WE found the little town of Kiel in a state of great excitement. Active preparations were making for a renewal of those hostilities that had, unhappily, been going on between the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Danes, since the revolution in the Duchies, on the 24th of March, 1848, but which had been suspended for a time, by an armistice destined shortly to expire without the conclusion of any satisfactory arrangement.

This revolution arose from no sudden popular movement. Discontent had existed for many years in the Duchies, and disputes had arisen between them and the Danish Government. Violent and impassioned articles appeared in the journals, inflaming the minds of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, by appealing to their German nationality, as a reason for continuing that resistance which had already become organised, although it had not overstepped the limits of a free exercise of speech and the press.

Matters were in this state when, in July 1846, the late King Christian VIII. promulgated a letter patent, setting forth certain views relative to the succession of the Duchies

which added fuel to the flame already existing. A popular meeting was held a few days after at Neumünster, where an address to the Diet of Holstein was voted, containing a solemn protest on the part of the Schleswig-Holsteiners, wherein the letter patent was represented to have "brought into question all the rights — the whole constitution of the country, — and raised, in every honest heart among the inhabitants of the Duchies, the deepest anxiety for the future, and the most profound emotion." The protest also reiterated what the people considered to be the three fundamental principles of their political existence; viz., "The Duchies are independent States. The male line alone reigns in the Duchies. The Duchies are States eternally and indissolubly united."

This act was soon followed by an address from the Diet of Holstein to the King, supporting the popular cause. "To obey the order of his Prince," it said, "is the duty of every loyal subject; but, in the present instance, such would be only betraying the most sacred interests of the country, and even your own." But the King was obstinate in his opinions, and refused to modify them.

The antagonism between the Sovereign and his German subjects became daily greater. The spirit of the people was fairly aroused, and their feelings embittered; yet it does not appear that Christian had for a moment thought of resorting to open hostilities to enforce his views, but that he was desirous, by measures of conciliation, to allay dissatisfaction, and thus bring about the moral submission of the Duchies. In this spirit, and to this end, he proposed uniting more closely the German to the Danish parts of the monarchy, by granting "a constitution com-

mon to Denmark and the Duchies." But in the midst of these plans death stepped in, on the 20th of January, 1848, and transferred the sceptre from Christian's hand to that of his son.

On the very day he ascended the throne Frederick VII. issued a proclamation, wherein he promised to carry out the intentions of his father, while a few days later followed a "Constitution common to Denmark and the Duchy of Schleswig," by which all the existing rights of the provincial States were guaranteed as established by the ordinances of May, 1831, and May, 1834. Eighteen deputies were to be elected by Denmark, the same number by Schleswig-Holstein, while four more were to be nominated by the King for each Duchy.

At another time this Constitution might have been received with satisfaction; for even in the unfavourable state of the public mind then existing but slight opposition was offered to it, although the people were inclined to suspect every act as being levelled against their interests, and had, moreover, men of energy, influence, and talent, watching jealously and closely to prevent any infringement of their rights.

The preparations for the elections about to take place in the course of March went on with order, and the restlessness that had so long prevailed seemed hushed to repose, when the French Revolution fell like a thunderbolt upon Europe, which vibrated to its centre from the blow. Moderate men of all nations stood aghast; a mighty stupor fell upon, and chained them to inaction; no cheering ray penetrated the dark cloud, beyond which they could imagine nothing but anarchy and confusion.

Others, on rallying from the first shock, dreamed of universal freedom — the regeneration of mankind — a political Elysium, that was to invigorate all the social virtues, refine the tastes, and exalt the intellect of the world. To a third and numerous class astonishment was succeeded by delirium, — hopes undefined mingled with wild and boisterous passions, — vague ideas that from the wreck of thrones the mighty waves would bear to shore some fragment for their benefit, — visions of an equal division of property, and a hundred other strange delusions, were jumbled together in their brains, and chased reason from her domicile.

The French Revolution, followed by the political convulsions of Germany, could not fail to create a profound sensation in the Duchies; their long-existing state of contention with Denmark rendered them peculiarly susceptible of such an influence, which gave birth to new aspirations and hopes that required but a stimulus to give them a demonstrative form. This was not long wanting, as on the 10th of March the Danish Government issued an ordinance for the regulation of the press, containing some obnoxious clauses. The town of Altona was the first to move; and in an address to the King on the 15th of March the inhabitants set forth not only their grievances on this, but their demands on a variety of other subjects, couched in strong, and at times in bitter language. From the moment that this address was signed, the breach between the Duchies and the King their Duke became irreparable.

Events marched rapidly; other towns and bodies voted addresses, and the Constitution which had been received

without great resistance before the French Revolution, was now despised and rejected, while thoughts were indulged in of a separation from Denmark, and the establishment of Schleswig-Holstein as an independent State, united to the Germanic Confederation. A meeting of the ex-deputies took place at Rendsburg, at which some of the members were appointed to wait on the monarch, and lay the desires of the people before him.

In the mean time a new Ministry having been formed at Copenhagen by the King, from a party supposed to be hostile to the interests of the Duchies, a Provisional Government was proclaimed by them at Kiel, on the 24th of March; in the name of the King, however, over whom it was pretended the Ministers exercised an undue influence. The troops in the town immediately declared for the new order of things; and the Commandant, with all the officers, being Danes, resigned. Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein assumed command of the forces, forthwith marched on Rendsburg, surprised and took that town and citadel without firing a shot. The people's enthusiasm was next morning raised to the highest pitch by the publication of a letter from the King of Prussia, promising his support in the event of their rights being compromised. Thus encouraged, they advanced boldly towards the north.

The Danish troops soon entered the province of Schleswig, routed the insurgents near Flensburg, on the 9th of April, and took possession of that place; while on the 11th the town of Schleswig fell into their hands without opposition. Prussia and the Germanic Confederation now sent into the Duchies a body of 23,000 men, which,

uniting with the Schleswig-Holsteiners, formed an army of 30,000. With this force the Danes were attacked and driven back; but not without offering a valiant resistance to double their own numbers. Denmark being unable to oppose such greatly superior forces, the German troops, under General Wrangel, entered Jutland.

The cumbrous vehicle of diplomacy was all this time in motion; and at length an armistice was agreed upon, which was still in force at the period of our visit to the country. In the following July (1850) Prussia concluded *a separate peace* with Denmark, and thus abandoned the Duchies, after having been the principal supporter of the revolution. The Danes re-entered the duchy of Schleswig, and again defeated the insurgent army in some hard-fought battles, of which that of Idsted was the most bloody; and thus the cause of the Schleswig-Holsteiners was lost in the field.

Meanwhile the Austrian troops entered Holstein as the pretended pacificators and friends of Denmark, although the latter protested that she was quite able to settle her own affairs. Negotiations continued; but with an Austrian army of occupation, and Russian intrigue at work, they could only take one direction, and that was not favourable to the interests of Denmark and the Danes. Nor have the Schleswig-Holsteiners gained by the interference of their Austrian friends, whose desire was, not to benefit, but to prevent Denmark giving them too much political freedom; and the events of the latter end of 1855 show how well they have succeeded.

That Prussia, with no good maritime ports herself, has constantly an eye towards Denmark is certain. Jealous

of her superiority in this respect, and longing for that which she dares not seize, the former Power endeavours by intrigue to sow dissensions in the dominions of the latter, hoping the weakness they produce may ultimately prove beneficial to Prussian interests; and this was the mainspring of her action in 1848.

Does any reasoning republican believe that the King of Prussia interfered to assist a people in armed resistance to their Sovereign's power, from sympathy with their cause? Does any thinking royalist suppose that the Prussian Monarch endeavoured to strike a mortal blow at Denmark from hostility to monarchical government? No! what then was the motive for this interference? German interests were ostentatiously paraded, but they were only the pretext for an unjustifiable act, which really sprang from a purely selfish policy. A policy which began long before the outbreak in Schleswig-Holstein, and did not cease with its termination.

Had not the Danes to a man been alive to the vital importance of the question — had they not at once comprehended that their very existence as a nation depended upon its issue — the manœuvres of Prussia might have proved more successful. As it was, they failed; but only to be again renewed on every favourable occasion.

Although Kiel is one of the most ancient towns of the Duchies, having been celebrated as early as the eleventh century, it contains few buildings remarkable for their architecture; but little to distinguish it as the second university town in the Danish dominions, and no objects of very deep interest to the traveller, beyond the beauty of its situation and that of the surrounding country.

We found that the students — those restless spirits ever at the head of popular movements in Germany — had deserted the seat of learning for the battle field, and now shouldered the musket instead of carrying the ponderous tome, while even the grave professors had quitted the quiet pursuit of science to plunge into the vortex of political excitement. Indeed, these said professors had been most active instruments in bringing about the existent state of things; rightly or wrongly we do not pretend to decide.

The University of Kiel was founded in 1665, to replace the College of *Bordesholm*, and first took the name of *Christiana Albertina*, after its founder Christian Albrecht. It is composed of the four faculties of theology; law, medicine, and philosophy. There are twenty-one ordinary, and a certain number of extraordinary professors, which latter varies according to circumstances. There are, in addition, professors of the English and French languages, together with riding, fencing, dancing, and drawing masters. The number of students attending the University, used to exceed two hundred, but is now reduced to one hundred and fifty.

The incomes of the professors are fixed at from about 120*l.* to 240*l.* per annum; and in exceptional cases the latter sum is slightly exceeded. The foundation is poor, but an annual grant of 8,800*l.* is voted by the State. The University disposes, however, of considerable funds, derived from legacies for the benefit of poor students, from which about sixty receive an annual allowance of 16*l.* to 20*l.* a year. The studies are conducted in the German language; indeed this school of learning is essentially

German, even in the tendency to abstruse philosophical theories, and visionary political ideas.

Dr. Clarke, the well-known traveller, did not form a very high estimate of Kiel as a seat of science in 1799, for he says, "it seemed to possess nothing of a University but the name. There was a general dearth of literature in the place. We sought in vain for books and valuable information concerning the antiquities of the 'Cimbrica Chersonesus,' deeming ourselves fortunate when we found in a poor bookseller's shop a copy of 'Saxo-Grammaticus,' and the goodly 'Olaus Magnus,' with all his strange legends of conjurors, magicians, and witches."

This University has had among its professors but few great men, although many of considerable talent. Feuerbach, who afterwards became professor at Munich, was, perhaps, the most distinguished; he founded a system of penal jurisprudence, on the philosophy of Kant and Fichte. He was a deep thinker, a profound reasoner, and the greatest writer on jurisprudence in Germany.

The University has several institutions attached to it; amongst them is a library, containing 100,000 volumes, that occupies one wing of the palace. There are also collections of antiquities, natural history, and anatomy, none of which are large, but the last is remarkable for a great number of examples of human monstrosity.

Kiel became the place of residence of Count Adolphus IV. as early as 1243. He there built the Monastery of Marien Kloster, into which he afterwards retired, died, and was buried in the church that still exists.

The principal church, St. Nicholas, is of the thirteenth century, and is more conspicuous for the height of its

clock tower than for the beauty of its architecture. The interior presents few objects worthy of attention. The altar-piece of carved wood, painted, dating 1460, and divided into twenty-one compartments, is however curious; and some sarcophagi of stone, with a large old baptismal font in bronze, are interesting. There are beside other churches, a garrison, and two Catholic chapels.

The Ducal Palace is a fine old building, also of the thirteenth century, a period when all the edifices of importance in Kiel were erected. This château has been enlarged at different times, and was repaired and handsomely decorated by Catherine the Great, whose husband was hereditary Grand Duke of Holstein. In it the treaty was signed by which Paul ceded, in 1773, the Duchy of Holstein Gottorp to the King of Denmark, in exchange for that of Oldenburg; an event of great advantage to the Danish Monarchy. The palace is situated close to the town, and overlooks the beautiful bay. The wing facing the sea was burnt down in 1838, but was immediately rebuilt.

Kiel contains about 14,000 inhabitants, has two large hospitals, an orphan asylum, and other public edifices; together with a house of refuge for aged men, in a part of the old conventual building. After Altona, it is the most important town in the Duchies. Its commerce, especially in cereals, is great, and the movement of mercantile shipping active. Ship-building, the manufacture of machinery, and iron-founding on a small scale, are the chief branches of industry. There are also some tobacco and oil factories.

Attached to the palace is a fine public garden, with deli-

ciously shaded walks stretching to the water's edge, commanding varied and charming views across the harbour. Indeed, the environs of Kiel everywhere present scenery of the most picturesque description. The bay is shut in on every side, and resembles a lovely lake. It affords admirable shelter for shipping, and has depth and size sufficient to accommodate the largest fleets; but the only vessels that occupied its quiet waters were a pigmy squadron consisting of three small steamers and seven gun-boats, raised and equipped by the Duchies since the commencement of the revolution.

It was amusing to observe with what pride the Holsteiners regarded this, their little war fleet; still, we could not help looking on it as the offspring of an event deeply to be deplored, which had already caused immense loss to the country from interruption of trade, and productive industry; while sufficient wealth had been consumed to complete a system of railways throughout the Duchies; independent of the blood that had been spilt, the passions aroused, and the bitter feelings engendered between friends and relations.

Little did we then think that the same waters were destined so soon to have floating on them the proudest fleets that the world ever saw, and bearing about the same proportion to that we gazed upon, as the mighty war now raging in the Baltic does to the troubles then existing in the Danish dominions.

The post carriage is at the door, a comfortable-looking caléche, with a pair of sleek powerful bays, as promising looking cattle as ever delighted the eyes of traveller desirous to get quickly over the ground. Visions of nine

miles an hour flash through the brain, and we leap into the vehicle elated by the thought. The landlord's parting salutation is rapidly returned, from the fear that we might be off ere the polite attention could be properly acknowledged; but alas! we are not so quickly away, for the post-boy is busily occupied in examining wheels, or minutely surveying each strap and buckle of the harness. Prudent fellow that, thought we; he takes proper precautions before tearing frantically along the road. At length he mounts the box, and we move, but gently, very gently, at about the rate of a snail in a hurry. "Knowing youth that," say we; "he wishes gradually to warm the horses before pushing them to their utmost speed." A loud crack of the whip! Now then we are really off! No! the snail pace is chronic, and disappointment is our doom; five long weary hours we are occupied in accomplishing twenty-three English miles.

Our subsequent experience in post travelling within the Danish dominions quite agreed with this first trial. We generally found excellent horses, light carriages, good roads, and no apparent reason for going less than eight miles an hour on the average, yet five were the utmost that we ever accomplished. We verily believe a Danish post-boy would consider himself guilty of a grave offence in permitting his horses ever to exceed a jog-trot.

The country passed through was generally flat, consisting of light alluvial soil mixed with sand, exceedingly fertile, and well cultivated. We stopped at a small village, and examined the church, which was particularly neat and clean. It was divided into pews, the whole

being nicely painted, and in such order that the edifice would have done credit to any country parish of England.

From the church we walked into a neighbouring farm-house; a huge building, containing under one roof not only the dwelling, but the barn, stable, cow-house, cart-shed, and other offices. An admirable order and cleanliness existed throughout, while everything indicated the abode of tranquil, persevering, and successful industry. We entered the apartments of the family, and found in one room seven beautiful children, fat and rosy; the oldest of whom appeared to have numbered about as many years, the youngest not quite as many months, all showing, in their healthy looks, proofs of the abundance which reigned around. The mother received us with modest civility, yet without embarrassment, and we came away with feelings of real pleasure from this abode of peace and contentment. Nor was this a too favourable example of the prosperity of a class, being only a fair specimen of the farmer's condition throughout the Duchies.

As we turned to take a last look at the farm-house, we saw standing on the point of the gable, — a tall, lank, motionless stork, — an object at all times unmolested, almost venerated, by the people.

CHAP. III.

CHARACTER OF THE HOLSTEINERS.—AN OLD CASTLE, AND RENDSBURG.—GOTTORP CASTLE, AND SCHLESWIG.—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—A PHILANTHROPIST.—FLENSBURG AND ITS SCENERY.—ABSENCE OF POVERTY.—THE CIGARETTE AND THE NARGUILÉ.

THE Holsteiners are generally serious, upright, and straightforward in character; their judgment has usually more empire than their imagination, while the passions are kept under control by reflection and reason. There is little gaiety in their conversation, but confidence, with a simple and frank politeness, are often united to great warmth of heart. To rouse such a nation into a state of revolution required some long-continued and strong exciting cause, especially as the people are generally free from poverty and its attendant physical suffering, which often render men desperate, and urge them into paths that, under other circumstances, they would shun.

It was not until 1779 that all parts of the Duchies were united under one Duke, in the person of the Sovereign of Denmark; and soon afterwards an attempt was made to introduce the Danish language, which failed, as a matter of course, simply by a passive resistance of the people, who did not choose to learn it.

Disappointed in this first effort to denationalise his

German subjects, the Danish monarch resorted to stronger measures, and issued an ordinance forbidding any public appointment whatever to be given to persons who did not "speak habitually, and from preference, the Danish language." Other decrees, equally galling, and as impolitic as they were unjust, rapidly appeared, which, although creating no open resistance, were not the less dangerous from rankling, year after year, in the heart. They ripened at last into a deep-seated dislike to the Danish Government by the Holsteiners, and a dogged distrust of their rulers. These constant attempts at encroachment on their liberties could alone have driven them to rebellion, for they have no impulse in their nature; but deep, stern resolve was the necessary sequence to a long brooding over their grievances. Nor could more effectual means to alienate such a people, and drive them to extremities, have been taken, than those by the kings of Denmark.

On entering Rendsburg, we found it crowded with soldiers, producing movement, life, and animation, which offered a strong contrast to the extreme quiet of the road we had been travelling. The head-quarters of the confederate army were established here, and the same preparations for the approaching campaign were making, but on a much larger scale than we had witnessed at Kiel.

We drove to Pahl's Hotel, on the great square of Neuwerk, in the New Town, where we found the best—although but indifferent—accommodation, which the place afforded. The bedrooms were without carpets, and the only covering to the beds consisted of a down pillow, a true German fashion, instituted to initiate man into the discomforts of the torrid and frigid zones, at one and the

same time, in his own proper person, serving on a cold night to heat one half of the body to excess, while the other half is left to freeze.

Far back, in the Middle Ages, there existed on an island of the Eider a stronghold, called Reinholdsbourg, which having been destroyed in a previous war, was rebuilt in 1196, by Count Adolphus III. of Holstein. Situated on the very borders of Schleswig, then in the possession of Denmark, it was a permanent menace to that kingdom, and furnished a perpetual subject of discord between the Danish kings and the dukes of Holstein, which too often led to sanguinary contests. The reconstruction of this castle again occasioned hostilities, that terminated in the total defeat of Adolphus III. by Knud IV. of Denmark, in the exile of the former, and a reign of twenty-three years over the duchy by Knud, and his successor. Adolphus IV., however, regained his father's possessions by the battle of Bornhöved, and Reinholdsbourg thenceforth remained in his hands and those of his heirs.

House after house gradually sprang up around the castle, until the town, now called Rendsburg, was formed. Great privileges and a large grant of land were conferred upon it as early as 1339. It is the only fortified position of the Duchies, but at the same time is an active place of business, being favourably situated in the centre of the country, at the junction of a canal with the Eider, which unite the Baltic Sea to the German Ocean. The fortifications are extensive, and had been made more formidable by the exertions of the Schleswig-Holsteiners since the revolution.

The town is tolerably well built, and has a population of 10,000 souls; it contains two churches, but the Lutheran religious worship alone is permitted in the old town. There are several charitable institutions, and manufactories on a small scale.

Here also is situated one of the two agricultural schools which exist in the Duchies, the other being at Tostrup. To each of these a large piece of land is attached, divided into four parts, one devoted to the cultivation of trees, a second to vegetables, a third being appropriated to botany, and a fourth to agriculture in general. These admirable institutions have had an excellent effect on the state of cultivation throughout the country; and, consequently, on the moral condition of the people. Every traveller remarks the excellent method of farming, which though it may not be reduced to a science in its most minute details, as in England and Scotland, is nevertheless exceedingly creditable to the Schleswig-Holsteiners, and far superior to that of half the other countries of Europe.

The arsenal contains a considerable quantity of arms, amongst which are some curious ancient specimens. Had Rendsburg held out against the insurgents on the 24th of March, the revolution might have been arrested soon after its birth, for here alone were found the arms and ammunition necessary to sustain the popular cause.

The Marien Kirche gives, by its internal arrangement, no high opinion of the taste of the Duchies in decorative art, especially as applied to sacred buildings. We found it most gaudily painted and ornamented, much more resembling a theatre than a Lutheran church; and this similarity was farther increased by its being fitted up with

separate boxes along the sides, each having four chairs, and windows to open and shut like those of a carriage.

We took places in the diligence on the 7th, hoping this mode of travelling would prove more expeditious than that by post, but although the road was macadamised, and particularly good, we never exceeded the rate of six miles an hour, a pace rendered more tedious from the country between Rendsburg and Schleswig being flat and uninteresting. The soil is very sandy, and there are wide uncultivated tracts of heath lands. After crossing the Eider we had quitted what is properly termed German territory.

Immediately before entering the town of Schleswig, the ancient castle of Gottorp is seen on an eminence. It is an imposing, but heavy-looking structure in brick, having a façade of twenty-three windows; being built on a small island, united to the town by dykes planted with trees, and forming avenues running parallel with the principal street. These avenues, however, had been partly destroyed before the battle of Schleswig in 1848. The castle was twice besieged by Eric XIII., and was formerly encircled with fortifications, now nearly all removed. About the middle of the thirteenth century it became the episcopal residence, at a later period that of the Dukes, and on the union of the Duchy with Denmark, this "château" was occupied by the governor of the province.

Schleswig, the capital of the Duchy of the same name, is an ancient town, situate to the west of the Schlei, one of those fiords or arms of the Baltic, so frequently met with on these shores. The town was called Schliesdorf before the ninth century, a name, like its present one,

derived from the fiord on which it stands. The palmy days of Schleswig's commercial prosperity have now passed away, yet for several centuries it was by far the most important mercantile place of the Duchies. There are no manufactories of importance, but a sugar refinery exists on rather a large scale. Among the public buildings are a college, a fine "Hôtel de Ville," several charitable institutions, including lunatic, deaf and dumb asylums, a house of refuge for the poor, and some religious foundations.

Schleswig has the honour of having been the birthplace of Christianity in the country north of the Eider, for here it was that Anscarius fixed his second missionary station. Harold, a prince of Jutland, having been forced by a rival chief to fly from his dominions, sought assistance from the son of Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire. This was granted upon condition that he would embrace Christianity, to which he consented, and was forthwith baptized with all his family. Having again recovered his throne, Harold returned to South Jutland, in 827, accompanied by Anscarius and another monk, who fixed on Schleswig as their residence, and commenced the work of conversion with great zeal and activity. They founded a school, built a church, and had already been successful in the propagation of their doctrines, when Harold was again obliged to fly from his country.

His companion having previously departed, Anscarius was left alone, without support, subject to the insults of the pagans around him, and even in danger of his life. Under such circumstances, he too was obliged to quit Schleswig, and what caused him still greater pain, to

leave the small body of converts already gained. He did not however turn to the south, where an asylum was always open to him, but made his way towards Sweden, which he succeeded in reaching after much suffering and misery. From that time Christianity made slow but gradual progress in the Duchies, alternately encouraged and opposed by the reigning princes.

Harold — grandfather of Canute the Great — was baptized by the Bishop Poppo, at Schleswig, in 965, but his son and successor, Sweyn, still clung to paganism, and was an avowed enemy of Christianity during the greater part of his reign, although he embraced its tenets before death.

Canute followed not in the footsteps of Sweyn, his father. A more sincere believer in the new religion than his predecessors, — of a determined, uncompromising, and persevering character, — the king of three nations, — as powerful as he was beloved, — Canute exercised his whole influence, and exerted all his energies in the cause, built numerous churches, sent active missionaries to his northern dominions, and finally succeeded in overcoming all resistance, and in fixing Christianity on a solid basis in Denmark and South Jutland.

Thus two hundred years elapsed, after the first introduction of Christianity, before paganism was permanently conquered; but it was not altogether extirpated for another century.

From its connection with Germany, the doctrines of Luther began early to attract attention, and gain adherents in Schleswig-Holstein. The Bishops were of course violent in their opposition; but Frederick I. of Denmark —

doubtless to suit his own political purposes — first encouraged the new tenets, and then in 1527, at the diet of Odense, openly advocated their being tolerated. This was just seven hundred years after St. Anscarius had commenced his labours in Schleswig. The work of reformation pursued its successful course in spite of the energetic resistance and frequent protests of the Bishops, until the whole country became Protestant; and the Schleswig-Holsteiners, together with the Danes and Swedes, have remained staunch adherents to the Lutheran religion up to the present day.

There are five churches in Schleswig, of which St. Michael's is the most ancient. It is supposed by some to have been a heathen temple, but is more probably the edifice built by St. Anscarius about the middle of the ninth century.

The cathedral, of a later date, is the most remarkable monument in the country. It is a Gothic structure, and possesses an altar-piece in carved wood of 1521, by Jean Brüggemann, which is justly celebrated as a beautiful specimen of art, and is perhaps unique of its kind. Although of great size, and representing twenty-two subjects, taken from the Bible, the numerous figures, in their most minute details, are highly finished. The expression and grouping are admirable, while a pleasing harmony pervades the whole. This altar-piece was originally executed for the monks of Bordesholm. It is said that the Lubeckers were so delighted with it, that they requested the artist to carve one equally beautiful for them; but on hearing this, the monks were so jealous, that they secretly administered something to poor Brüggemann which caused an inflamma-

tion and weakness of the eyes, so that he could no longer work.

The cathedral also contains several fine monuments, and among them one in marble by an Italian sculptor, erected in memory of Frederic I. of Denmark, who died in 1533.

The lunatic asylum for the two Duchies is situated at Schleswig. It is a fine establishment, and said to be very well conducted. The males admitted as patients in proportion to the females are about three to two; those discharged cured, average twenty-eight, and the deaths rather more than twenty-two per cent; while about fifteen per cent. of the inmates are usually from the higher classes.

Another valuable institution, the asylum for deaf and dumb of the two Duchies, also exists at Schleswig. Workshops of all kinds are attached to it; but the most important is a printing establishment, in which a great number of cheap Bibles, other religious books, and some works of importance, are printed. Of these, upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand copies were struck off in 1843, independent of periodicals, pamphlets, and some scientific works.

There are generally from eighty to ninety inmates, who receive education and instruction in trades or professions, according to their stations or abilities. The number of deaf and dumb in the Duchies amounts to four hundred, or one in two thousand of the whole population.

The institution was founded at Kiel, and developed under the direction of a native of that place named Phingsten, whose early career was singular. Barber, musician, and organist in turn, he failed in gaining a competency, probably because his heart was in neither of these

callings, for, while struggling to exist upon a miserable pittance, he found time for the exercise of his benevolence by educating poor children; and such was the success in this branch of his varied occupations, that he attracted the attention of some influential persons, who detected the man of talent beneath the philanthropist's humble garb. He was forthwith appointed director of the deaf and dumb asylum, at the moment of its foundation, where his great abilities and excellent management went hand in hand with his tastes and virtues.

As the number of inmates increased, a school for the education of deaf and dumb masters was added to the original institution. The building at Kiel being found too small, the establishment was transferred to Schleswig in 1810.

This town contains about fourteen thousand inhabitants; and many of the houses in the Lollfuss (old town) are curious from their antiquity.

We took diligence from Schleswig to Flensburg. The country between these towns was considered neutral ground during the armistice, the former being occupied by Prussian, the latter by Norwegian and Swedish troops. From our vehicle having the royal arms of Denmark on its panels, an escort of soldiers was thought necessary, it being imagined that such obnoxious emblems of royalty might produce an attack from the peasantry; a very unwarranted idea, if there be any truth in the science of physiognomy, for a more unlikely-looking people to commit outrages of any description we never saw.

The inhabitants of this Duchy are distinguished for mildness and benevolence of character, as well as for morality

and virtue. They are generally serious and respectful in manner, upright in principles, and steadily industrious in their habits. The men are broad-shouldered, strong, and robust in the lowlands; while in the higher districts they are neither so wide-chested nor thick-set, but are more vigorous and active. The hair and complexion are generally fair.

On reaching the posthouse at Flensburg our Prussian escort handed the diligence over to a guard of Norwegian soldiers, who immediately surrounded it; which appeared very much like a military farce got up for the edification of ourselves, and the few little urchins who stood with mouths open as wide as their eyes, staring at the absurd spectacle; their organs of wonder evidently being in a high state of exaltation.

Flensburg is a well-built town of about thirteen thousand inhabitants, situated on a beautiful fiord, and surrounded on every side by higher land, here finely wooded, there well cultivated, now gently sloping into lovely valleys, now melting into the mirrored surface of the sea. Hill and dale, wood and grass, the stately beech, the gnarled oak, in combination form the body, while flashing water lights it up and gives a soul—the soul and body of the beautiful. The taper masts, the flapping sails, the moving vessels on the fiord, the peasants' houses on its shore, the churches' steeples amidst the trees, united make the substance; while the sun's bright rays in light and shade throw over it a spirit—the spirit and the substance of the picturesque. Such charms as these are found in the environs of Flensburg.

The bustling in the streets and business-like appearance

of the people gave signs that we were in the most mercantile place, while the venerable-looking houses and buildings in some parts of the town indicated it to be also one of the most ancient of the Duchy. Six hundred years ago Flensburg was known for its importance as a commercial and maritime port. By the beginning of this century it had much increased in wealth; its vessels navigated every sea, and its West India trade was large; but the adherence of Frederic VI. of Denmark to the cause of Napoleon, through good fortune and through bad fortune, though honourable to the king, was fatal to Flensburg and the commerce of the country.

The attack on Copenhagen by England in 1807, which may find defenders on the plea of necessity, but certainly not on the sacred ground of justice, was followed by the seizure of an immense number of mercantile vessels; and no town in the kingdom suffered so much from this cause as Flensburg. Its merchants ruined, its shipping lost, its trade destroyed, the only thing required to bring its misfortunes to a climax, was closing the principal market for its productive industry; and this was done in 1815, by transferring Norway to the crown of Sweden.

From these combined injuries Flensburg has never rallied sufficiently to attain the prosperity that existed before their infliction; yet as a commercial town it still maintains an excellent position in the Duchies, having a large amount of tonnage belonging to it, exceeding in this respect even Altona, to which it is second only in the number of ships entering and leaving the port.

Flensburg has some manufactories on a small scale, and amongst them one of cloth, one of paper, several of tobacco

and soap, many distilleries, sugar refineries, and factories of oil, — the exportation of oil being great, not only from this, but from all the ports of the Duchies.

Manufactures have never been greatly developed in Schleswig-Holstein, the country being essentially agricultural, and the population nowhere crowded. The fertile and productive character of much of the soil, the richness of the pasturage, and the extreme facilities for shipping the produce in grain and cattle, lead the inhabitants to invest their capital in cattle-grazing and agriculture rather than in manufactories.

The physical features of the country also favour the advancement of a mercantile navy, which has accordingly reached a very respectable amount, considering that it was almost annihilated in the early part of this century; while a daily augmentation to the number and size of the vessels is taking place. The fisheries likewise furnish sources of profitable industry, all kinds of fish abounding in the fiords and waters between the islands, while the oyster-beds are on an extensive scale. The bedding of oysters is said to have been introduced by Canute the Great, who borrowed the idea from England.

The newer part of Flensburg is neatly built, and the town contains many fountains, which furnish the inhabitants with a plentiful supply of water. There are three German Lutheran churches, and a fourth where the service is performed in the Danish language. The usual public buildings, and some valuable charitable institutions, also exist.

The absence of any sign of poverty amongst the inhabitants is most striking to the traveller in the Duchies. We

never saw any of the lower orders otherwise than neatly and respectably dressed. The genuine thorough-bred beggar, found at the corner of every street in large towns of England, is a variety of the human species here unknown. We were asked for alms once only during our stay in the country; and, being astonished at so unusual a phenomenon, turned to survey the costume and physiognomy of the individual who had been guilty of such an act. A simple explanation at once presented itself in the shape of a gang of convicts. One of the prisoners, for a moment unobserved by the guard, had thrown himself in our way and appealed to our charity.

When we had taken our seats in the *coupé* of a diligence, it was duly announced that a Russian princess was to occupy the vacant place in the compartment. A princess! A real, living, breathing princess in a diligence! We had revolved in our mind what such a personage in such a situation would resemble, and had just come to the conclusion that she would look and feel very "like a fish out of water," when a short, plump, good-natured looking lady made her appearance, and an instant afterwards we were half-smothered in the ample folds of petticoat.

Off drove the ponderous vehicle; and a dozen heads of as many Norwegian officers were lowered as we moved away. Some of these were loungers, others had come to bid our fair companion adieu; but all appeared acquainted with her. We soon found that the princess could make herself at home in a diligence. We therefore concluded that she had been accustomed to "rough it," or had the good sense to take things in this world as they occur; a quality of mind often possessed by persons of nobility, who

frequently submit to inconveniences in travelling with much better grace than many of more plebeian origin.

We found her lively, agreeable, and always willing to talk. She expressed great surprise that we should have remained so long as five minutes without smoking, and begged us to make her no obstacle to our doing so; but she was extremely amazed on finding that we had neither cigars nor tobacco in our possession; perhaps, also, a little disappointed, for a cigarette might have proved acceptable to her, as we subsequently saw elegant-looking women in Russia beguiling themselves by smoking in their travelling carriages; a taste perhaps derived from their Oriental sisters,—but oh! how different in the mode of indulgence. Daughter of Eastern clime, rich in beauty, soft as luxurious, clothed in the finest silks of Persia and the costliest shawls of Cashmere, reclining on the cushioned divan, with breast heaving and falling to the spirations of the fragrant, soothing *narguilé*, with eye, when calm, languishing and liquid, flashing fire when roused, how can we—but "comparisons are odious," and at present we will have none of them.

CHAP. IV.

THE LAND OF THE ANGLES. — AN UNCOMFORTABLE SHAVE. — UNIVERSAL EDUCATION. — THE MARIEN KIRCHE OF HADERSLEBEN. — THE LITTLE BELT AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS. — ODENSE THE TOWN AND ODIN THE GOD. — THE NORTHERN SKALDS. — AN IMPORTANT SPEECH.

WHAT country is this through which we pass? Its smiling features, its verdant meadows with their quick-set hedges, its scattered trees upon the fertile slopes of gentle undulations, call up associations of our own dear land! Nor is this strong resemblance merely accidental. This is "Angeln," whence the name of England comes; this is the cradle of our adventurous ancestors the "Angli;" this the birthplace of those intrepid chiefs Hengist and Horsa. From that very fiord of Flensburg perhaps sailed, fourteen hundred years ago, the fleets manned by those wild and hardy rovers of the sea who, when the Roman legions had left the shores of Britain, seized with vigorous hand that land which imperial Rome had let fall from her enfeebled grasp; and thus barbarism rose up a giant where civilisation had been too weak to stand.

At first the Angles crossed in small numbers to assist the Britons against their valorous and persevering enemies the Picts and Scots; but, as the conflict warmed, fresh hordes went pouring over, who were soon joined by

their Saxon neighbours inhabiting Holstein; and when at length the bold Northerns were driven to their mountains, the wily Anglo-Saxons were strong enough to keep the country which they professed to have come only to defend.

Thus were language, laws, manners, and the name given to that island which has since become a mighty Empire, by some pirate kings and their followers, offspring of this very soil. Amidst the many changes which subsequently took place in England the stamp of that race has remained indelibly fixed on British ground; while Danes and Normans are but engrafted upon the older trunk, adding freshness and vigour it is true, but not more deeply affecting the earlier stock.

The country between Flensburg and Apenrade is not all of the same description, one part consisting of an extensive plain of heath.

The husband of the fair princess, a gallant Norwegian officer of chasseurs, was waiting her arrival at Apenrade. This gentleman recommended us to put up at the "Stadt Hambourg," as the best hotel in the place; but we did not find it equal to our expectations, for it was by no means clean; a most unusual circumstance in the Duchies, where scrubbing goes on to the same extent as in Holland, and where, however plainly furnished the traveller may find his rooms, he is almost sure to get them clean.

We were evidently getting out of the beat of tourists; the variety of utensils produced for foot-baths, and the vessels in which hot water was brought for shaving, indicated a very pristine and unsophisticated state of society. On one occasion the latter consisted of an egg-

cup. An egg-cup! Imagine, ye men of stiff beards and tender chins, an egg-cupful only of tepid water to mollify the bristly growth of four-and-twenty hours!

What was absent in cleanliness, however, at the "Stadt Hambourg," was present in civility. Kind attentions were bestowed upon us, from the landlord down to the small urchin who cleaned the boots, not forgetting to make honourable mention of the tidy and pretty little maid who waited at table. When we remember how obliging these good people were, we are almost inclined to believe the unsatisfactory state of the "Stadt Hambourg" rather to have been accidental than usual.

Apenrade, like all the towns of importance on the eastern coast of Schleswig-Holstein, is built on a fiord. It, too, is ancient, and surrounded by romantic and agreeable scenery; from one height in particular, which commands the neighbouring country, a beautiful view is obtained.

This town contains about four thousand inhabitants, whose occupations are divided between navigation, commerce, and fishing; ship-building to some extent is also carried on. The number of vessels belonging to the port is large, considering the amount of population.

There are various languages spoken in the Duchy of Schleswig: the Danish in the north, High and Low German in the south, and Frisic in the west; but there is by no means a distinct line drawn between the localities where these are used, and several "patois" have arisen from the mixing of two or more together. The language of the church and schools in the South, is High German, in the North Danish, while in the central parts there are churches

and schools conducted in both tongues. The efforts of the government, from time to time, to force the Danish language into general use, have been attended with but little success amongst the German population.

We left Apenrade on the morning of the 8th, in a rather heavy, though roomy and comfortable, post carriage, passing at times through pretty, often picturesque, country, which still retained a strong resemblance to English scenery, especially in the winding roads and hedges, together with an occasional steeple of a village church peeping through the trees. There were some tracts of moorland, which only served to render the fertility of that under cultivation more conspicuous.

The peasantry here seemed equally as well to do in the world as those farther south. On approaching the north of Schleswig the people appear fairer, the men are not quite so thick set, but freer and easier in their gait. There is a remarkable placidity of expression in the faces of the women, who are often pretty. We saw one group of children that might have served as models for angels, so sweetly expressive were their lineaments.

The general stamp of intelligence in the visages of the people may be accounted for by the fact of education being universal in the Duchies. There are schools in every district, to which parents are obliged, under penalty, to send their children. The schoolmasters are properly educated, each undergoing an examination and receiving a certificate of capability before appointment. They are a respectable class of men, and are generally esteemed by the people. Each school is visited once a week by the pastor of the district, who also makes a half-yearly ex-

amination of the children, and sends in a report of their progress to the chief magistrate of the commune. The school is supported, and the master paid, by the district in which it is situated, the State providing a house and fuel. The system appears to work well; without doubt exercises a powerful influence over the moral condition of the people, and may be regarded as one of the causes why there is comparatively little poverty or crime.

Each commune also supports its own poor; but the charge is very light, as those only who are incapacitated from age or infirmity are generally to be found among the recipients of public bounty. Should an individual who is capable of working, and who from mere laziness is reduced to want, throw himself on this communal charity, he is fed upon bread and water only, and is kept in confinement; a system of treatment said to be attended in the majority of cases with the most beneficial results, for the lazy man is by no means he who prefers to live on the simplest fare; and a course of short diet, combined with the deprivation of liberty, brings him more effectually than any other means into the paths of amendment.

The abundance of work, the purely agricultural nature of the occupations, the absence of manufactures, in themselves often directly deleterious to health, and which draw great numbers into crowded localities, where filth and impure air engender disease,—that prudence which leads the young men to accumulate some little store of wealth before they take unto themselves wives, for it is said they seldom marry before five- or six-and-twenty years of age,—are all additional reasons to that of education for the comparative absence of poverty in this country.

That social condition of a people which has a tendency to prevent poverty exercises the same influence in checking crime; accordingly we find the criminal statistics of Schleswig-Holstein bearing a favourable comparison with those of other nations. The Duchies are, however, by no means free from the vice of drunkenness, and a third of the misdemeanors committed are directly traceable to this cause.

Hadersleben, the most northerly town of Schleswig, contains six thousand inhabitants. Soon after Christianity had taken root in the country a monastery was built in a valley near the fiord of Hadersleben; this was subsequently converted into an abbey, around which other dwellings gradually arose; and the present town occupies their site, together with that of a fine castle, built about the middle of the sixteenth century, and destroyed by an accidental explosion during the Swedish occupation in 1644.

The *Marien Kirche* is an ancient Gothic pile, but, like all others in the Duchies, it possesses, in external architecture, nothing either beautiful or attractive. None of those splendid structures are found in Schleswig-Holstein which rose up during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in England, France, and most parts of Germany; that marked a new era in church architecture, and that still exist as superb examples of the genius which combined elegance with solidity, great strength with apparent lightness, and a profusion of ornament with purity of taste, while it threw over the whole an air of grandeur, often of sublimity, that harmonised to perfection with the religion to which these glorious temples were dedicated. Nor did we find anything remarkable in the interior of the

Marien Kirche beyond a modern monument, of no great pretensions, erected in honour of Luther.

The inhabitants of the place are engaged in similar occupations to those of the other towns we have lately described. The depth of water is insufficient to permit any but small vessels to enter the port.

We did not remain long at Hadersleben, but continued our journey by the southern side of the narrow fiord through a most fertile country, replete with interesting scenery, until we reached Aarösund, about four o'clock in the afternoon; where, much to our discomfort, we were obliged to pass the night. There was nothing whatever to amuse or interest us, Aarösund being but an insignificant village, occupied by the families of a few fishermen and boatmen, who ply the ferry of the Little Belt, while the small tavern afforded very poor accommodation for the traveller.

The sun was just rising above the island of Funen when we stepped on board the diminutive steamer which was to carry us to Assens. The waters of the Little Belt were thrown into the gentlest ripples by a soft and balmy southern breeze. On our right lay the small island of Arroe, and its contiguous islets, tinged with the first rays of infant morning; and far in the distance, on the left, Boroe, and other small isles; while the Belt, closed in on the north by the approaching coasts of Funen and Jutland, resembled a lovely lake. Alsen Isle could be seen to the south, and to the east of it lay that of Œroe; while before us stretched the shores of Funen; or Fyen (literally *fine*), which derives its name from the fertility and excellence of its soil. The ever-active boatmen were already afloat in

their small craft, moving slowly over the waters, some in the middle of the Belt, others "hugging" the shore.

There is something peculiarly exhilarating in such a scene at such an hour as this. The mind and body, fresh and vigorous from previous rest, gives to the brain the keenest perception of the beautiful. Then it is that every object is most distinct and each line well defined,— then when

> "The tints of the earth, and the hues of the sky,
> In colour though varied, in beauty may vie;"

then when variety is most appreciated, and contrast most admired.

But there were other thoughts which added to this scene a deep and exciting interest: association brought the memory of one of the boldest acts that history records. Across the frozen waters of this Belt the brave and dashing Charles Gustavus of Sweden marched his army on the 30th of January, 1658. That little island of Bransöe, which now opens to the north of us, was the first point of reunion for the adventurous Swedes; and there the king met his generals at the termination of the first stage of their dangerous undertaking.

Slowly and prudently did thousands of warriors pick their way across that field of ice, which might at any moment crack beneath their weight, plunge them into the living stream beneath, and at the same time into eternity. Each horseman led his charger, which, accustomed to the din of war and the cannon's roar, knew not fear upon the battle-field, but now trembled in every limb as it went unsteadily upon the glassy surface of the

ice; while, far in the rear, with greater danger still, followed the artillery.

On landing in the Isle of Funen, Charles Gustavus found posted in a strong position five thousand Danes, whom he at once attacked and defeated by his cavalry alone. The head which had planned and achieved so daring an undertaking deserved thus to be crowned with the laurel wreath of victory.

As the Little Belt is not more than ten miles across, it was yet early morning when we reached Assens; there being nothing particular, however, in that town to arrest attention, we at once continued the journey to Odense. We were now within the kingdom of Denmark Proper, and were not permitted to forget it; for, as if to mark the presence of royal power here, which for the time was lost in the territory we had just quitted, there were granite milestones along the road, like small monuments, bearing in large letters the initials of the king.

They appeared to have been newly erected; and certainly at the moment furnished food for reflection. While the Schleswig-Holsteiners were endeavouring to remove everything that could remind them of allegiance to the Danish monarch, these stones seemed mute witnesses of the loyalty with which the Danes had rallied to a man around the throne under present circumstances.

The road was excellent, the country picturesque and well-cultivated; but there was a change in the appearance of the farm-houses, which were generally neither so well-built nor in such good repair as those of the Duchies. The people, however, were neatly dressed; and, judging from them, there was no absence of prosperity.

The little girls seen on the roadside looked like old women, having on the same shaped nightcaps as those worn by "Scotch wives." This head-dress gave them the drollest look, and really seemed to exercise an influence over the expression of the face, for the bright joyousness of early childhood had given place to a sober seriousness unnatural to the age; so that one might have imagined them to be the wives and sisters of a race of pigmies.

We entered Odense at mid-day; a town supposed by some, though on questionable grounds, to have been founded by Odin or Wodin before the Christian era. Odin, known by tradition as the mighty warrior, the profound legislator, a priest, a prophet, and a god,—one who conquered as quickly by the persuasive eloquence of his tongue, as by the strength of his own right arm,—a great poet and a greater magician,—was the chief of the Œsir; an Asiatic tribe, whose principal city, called Asgard, was situate on the River Tanais, which empties itself into the Sea of Azof, and is now called the Don.

Unable to resist the Roman arms, after Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus, had been vanquished, Odin is said to have left his own country to seek in the North and West that independence which could no longer be maintained at home. Skilled in arms and war, followed by bands of hardy and trusty warriors, he conquered as he moved along, but still went pushing forward, until he reached the ancient "Cimbrica Chersonæsus," the modern Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. Thence he passed into Funen, where, being so well pleased with the island, he remained for some time, built the town of Odense, and afterwards proceeded onward to Sweden, and finally to Norway.

The most ancient written accounts of Odin are contained in the Icelandic chronicles or Sagas; and as the earliest of these is of a date many centuries after the events to which it relates, it follows that their contents have either been derived from tradition or from the regions of romance. Some learned writers have accepted the traditionary portions of the Sagas as the true foundation of early Scandinavian history; and Saxo-Grammaticus has not hesitated to draw from so uncertain a source the materials for tracing an unbroken line of kings from Odin down to the moment when the authentic history of the country commences.

Others having arrived at the conclusion that the narratives given in these chronicles concerning Odin and his successors are mere fiction, reject them altogether, not even recognising as worthy of credit those portions relating to the period immediately preceding or during which they were written.

Now, it appears to us that both these classes of writers have carried their particular views to an extreme, and that, although much is contained in the traditionary part of the Sagas which should undoubtedly be rejected, yet the point relating to the arrival of Odin in Scandinavia ought to be admitted.

The principal cause of doubt and confusion concerning this individual appears to have arisen from his name. The chief god of the Teutonic nations having been called Odin, led to the belief that the Skalds, or northern poets, recited in their poems and songs, the heroic deeds and virtues of their divinity, and not those of a real historical character.

The early Scandinavian historians, however, surmount

this difficulty by asserting that the true appellation of the conqueror was Sigge, and that he assumed the god's name in order to exercise a more powerful influence over the minds of the people he had subdued. A new religion being thus introduced suddenly into a barbarous country, the name of the founder was soon associated with that of the god, so that after a few generations the hero, the priest, and the divinity were regarded as one and the same being.

The Skalds were at once the poets, minstrels, and historians of ancient Scandinavia, where they played no unimportant parts in their day. They accompanied their princes even to the battle-field, in order to add greater fire to their descriptions of heroic deeds. Their songs inspired the chiefs with the love of glory and the desire to become immortalized. Their muse delighted in singing the beauties of truth and wisdom, and the charms of those virtues most admired in a barbarous age. In interpreting and promulgating the oracles, they taught kings to respect justice, called upon them to render their people happy, and inculcated the love of country as the most exalted of all sentiments. They were honoured at courts, and venerated by the people.

There are numerous *tumuli* in the neighbourhood of Odense, indicating the high antiquity and early importance of the place; but there are no buildings in the town which can be referred to a period anterior to the eleventh century, although Adam of Bremen describes it as a large city at that date, and says that the Island of Funen, of which it is the capital, contained a hundred churches. Soon after the introduction of Christianity Odense became the seat

of an episcopal see, the first Bishop having been appointed in the middle of the tenth century; so that it was a town of note while Copenhagen was yet but an insignificant fishing-station.

Eric V. being of a disposition too mild and pacific for the warlike times, resigned his crown and retired to a monastery at Odense in 1147.

The cathedral is a large heavy structure in brick, built by Canute, or Knud IV., who was the founder of numerous other religious edifices. He extended the privileges of the clergy, and raised the Church to an importance in the State that it had not previously enjoyed; but in doing so, he called forth the hatred of the nobles, with whose rights he interfered, and thus created around him numberless enemies.

He endeavoured also to force the system of tithes upon the country; but, having failed in gaining the support of the States-General, he resorted to severe measures, which so exasperated the people, that they broke out in open rebellion.

Knud flew with his family to the cathedral of Odense for safety; but the rage of the populace knew no bounds, nor did the sanctity of the retreat prove any protection against an infuriated mob. At the foot of the very altar dedicated by himself to God, he was pierced to the heart, and fell a victim to his enthusiasm for the Church, by which he was regarded as a martyr, and afterwards elevated to the dignity of a saint. Since that time this edifice has been called the Cathedral of St. Knud.

Canute's was not the only blood spilt within these walls; his brother Benedict, and most of his attendants, shared

a like fate. In a small chapel of the cathedral, side by side, are two coffins with glass lids, through which we looked upon the mouldering bones of Canute and Benedict. "To this complexion we must come at last," we mentally ejaculated, and turned to examine some other interesting monuments.

The old town-hall of Odense is interesting only from its associations. Here Frederic I. made that speech to the Diet, in 1527, characterised alike for tact and talent,—which electrified the audience from its boldness, persuaded with its eloquence, and convinced by its reasoning,—that proved the death-blow to the Roman Catholic faith in Denmark, and led to the permanent establishment of the Reformation in that country.

The castle is not more than a hundred and fifty years old, and claims, neither from its architecture nor its historical associations, any particular notice. It is used as the residence of the governor of Funen. We did not remain long at Odense on this our first visit, but proceeded to Nyeborg. On stopping to bait the horses we observed that the post-boy gave them a substantial meal of bread, instead of corn.

CHAP. V.

THE PRINCE AND THE APE. — A ROYAL MONSTER. — A GREAT REFORMER. — EXPLOITS OF THE VIKINGS. — THE VALUE OF TIME. — A SORROWFUL CHANGE. — A DREAMY EVENING. — A WONDERFUL BISHOP.

On arriving at Nyeborg we put up at Schalburg's; a tolerably comfortable inn, where we met some Danish naval and military officers, with whom we conversed on the political state of the country. They all expressed deep regret at the misunderstanding existing between the Kingdom and the Duchies; and this feeling, unaccompanied with any vindictiveness, we subsequently found to be universal. Considering the passions usually aroused under such circumstances, we scarcely expected to find so much moderation. The Duchies were generally pronounced to be wrong, and the opinion prevailed that a separation from them, would lead eventually to the downfal of Denmark as a Kingdom.

Nyeborg was formerly well fortified; but the works are now entirely neglected, and the moat seems to have become the rendezvous of all the snakes in the island; for, as we walked along the narrow path by the water's side, numbers of these reptiles darted into it, from the bank on which they were basking in the sun.

Christian II. was born in a castle close to Nyeborg,

and, according to Svaning his historian, was carried to the roof, when quite a little child, by a large ape, which shortly afterwards brought him down again without inflicting the slightest injury. These friendly terms of the prince and monkey appear like an omen of the brutal passions and that taste for low society displayed by Christian throughout after life. Few greater monsters indeed ever sat on a throne; wily, vicious, and cruel, with no principle of honour, Christian possessed but few redeeming points; yet this degraded wretch was the principal cause of, and perhaps the chosen instrument, for accelerating in the North that mighty revolution—the Reformation.

Christian, aspiring to conquer Sweden and wear its crown, went with an army into that country, laid siege to Stockholm, was repulsed, sought refuge in one of his ships, and then proposed to negotiate; but Sten Sture, the administrator of the affairs of Sweden, probably knowing full well the character of the man he had to deal with, refused to go on board the vessel; whereupon Christian consented to meet him on shore, provided that a certain number of hostages were sent as security for his own safety. Amongst these was the young Gustavus Vasa. No sooner were they in his power, however, than Christian —traitor to his word, and in defiance of the laws of nations—sailed away with his hostages as prisoners.

His ill success in Sweden only added the desire of vengeance to other evil passions, and two years after, he again marched to Stockholm, which, defended by a heroic woman, might have held out for some time, but capitulated, under solemn promises from Christian of pardon for

all who opposed him, and offers of most generous terms to the inhabitants.

The possession of Stockholm was followed by the crowning of the new King. Never was more magnificence displayed; the city was one blaze of splendour, and people flocked from all parts of the country to view the spectacle. The nobles, invited to partake in, and give lustre to, these splendid *fêtes*, imagining themselves safe in the midst of so much joyousness, partook with confidence of the grand banquets given by the Sovereign. But their dreams of security soon vanished; for, ere the revelry was done, numbers of them were seized, and two days after led to the scaffold. Bishops, nobles, senators, and citizens alike were slaughtered, and before this demoniacal work was finished the blood of six hundred victim Swedes stained the streets of their country's capital.

Previous to the first attack on Sweden Christian obtained the support of Pope Leo X., and even induced him to excommunicate Sten Sture the administrator: thus, in the eyes of the Swedes, had the head of their Church identified himself with the aggression on their country; and at a later period they could scarcely fail to attribute their sufferings in a great measure to the encouragement received by Christian from the Pope; while their indignation was still farther aroused against the Church by the atrocious conduct of Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsala, one of the instigators of the iniquitous massacre in Stockholm.

In the meantime Gustavus Vasa escaped from custody, fled to Lubeck, and there embraced the doctrines of Luther, which he probably foresaw would become a

powerful engine wherewith to elevate himself and carry out his plans of patriotism or ambition. Having vainly sought from Lubeck some assistance against Christian, he returned to Sweden; where, after undergoing a series of unparalleled hardships and hair-breadth escapes, he found a retreat amongst the mountains of Dalecarlia.

Gustavus hated Christian with intensity, not only as a tyrant and a personal enemy, but as the conqueror of his country. He detested the Church of Rome, not alone upon principle, but because its head had dealt harshly by Sweden and had been the supporter of Christian. These feelings being nurtured, became more intense by concealment, only at a subsequent period to burst forth with vigour.

The Massacre of Stockholm spread horror through the land, and sank deep into the hearts of the people. Discontentment became general, and the whole country was ripe for a change. At this moment some other acts of Christian exasperated the Dalecarlians, and these sturdy mountaineers swore to follow the fortunes of Gustavus Vasa, and die or conquer with him. That solemn act, in the end, changed the political, social, and religious destinies of Sweden. Through it Christian was hurled from the throne, the people were rescued from the Church of Rome, the Reformation triumphed, and the crown which fell from the head of a tyrant was placed upon the brow of a great reformer.

Curious it is that the heart of a man, who thus seemed to glory in shedding blood, was nevertheless susceptible of the softest passion. Christian saw and fell desperately in love with a Dutch girl, whose mother kept a low tavern

at Bergen. This girl, named Dyveke, possessed great talent, and equal beauty. She obtained an immense influence over the King. Had she lived, it might possibly have been beneficially exercised, and much of the obloquy that attaches to his name prevented; but on her death Sigebrit the mother, retained the power which the daughter had possessed. She introduced to Christian her relative, one Dittaric Slagheck, a barber by trade; a man of little talent and no principle, who instigated the monarch to some of his worst crimes. This wretch was raised to the posts of minister, Bishop of Sweden, and Primate of all Denmark, but was at last roasted alive by his royal master in a fit of anger. Christian himself sat only six years on the throne, having been deposed by his people. He was nine years in exile, and twenty-seven in captivity; a slight punishment for all his crimes.

On the afternoon of the 10th we embarked at Nyeborg to cross the Great Belt, passing close to the little island of Spröe; on the highest point of which, commanding an extensive view in every direction, are the ruins of what was once a Viking's stronghold, where dwelt some of those sea rovers who infested the northern waters, and undertook expeditions, not only against their neighbours, but into distant countries; now like a torrent rushing over Britain; now committing their ravages on the plains of France; now seeking the dyke-bound flats of Holland; now scouring the sunny shores of Italy; now descending upon the amber coasts of Pomerania; now upon the classic isles of Greece; now dashing into the wild glens of Scotland; now sweeping over the vine-clothed hills of Andalusia.

Accustomed from their birth to feats of daring, bold in action, rapid in execution, brave as lions and as fierce; these northern pirates carried devastation and desolation, into every land on which they stepped. Terror stalked before them, blood and destruction marked their track, while suffering shrieked in the wake. It mattered not who were their enemies, the Briton or the Greek, the sturdy Dutch or the gallant French; if they conquered, booty was their lot; if they fell, their god was ready with open arms to receive, and bid them welcome to the halls of everlasting revelry.

In September, 844, one of these Viking expeditions sailed up the Guadalquiver, and, after sacking Seville, met in mortal combat with the Moors — the fierce children of Odin in deadly fight with the fiery followers of Mahomet. "On one side the fair-haired sons of the North, on the other the swarthy warriors of Mauritania; both possessing indomitable courage, and both excited by the spirit of religious fanaticism. The Northman beholding the shadowy forms of the Valkyrior hovering over the field of battle, ready to conduct him in triumph, when he fell, to participate in the boisterous joys of Valhalla; the Moor, amidst the clash of arms, equally convinced that the dark-eyed Houris were waving their green kerchiefs to welcome those who braved death for Allah and his prophet, to an eternity of blissful voluptuousness." *

The ravages of these corsairs continued during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries; nor did the introduction

* Depping, Histoire des Expéd. Maritimes des Normands.

of Christianity put an immediate stop to them, for we find the towns on the Baltic entering into a union for mutual defence in 1164, at Bremen on the Weser, immediately after the incursions and piracies of the Danes and Normans. This was the nucleus of that famous association known as the Hanseatic League, which at one time consisted of sixty-six cities, and at last grew so strong as to declare war against Waldemar King of Denmark, in the middle of the thirteenth century, and eighty years after against Eric; thereby raising up a rival league of princes, and finally leading to its own dissolution.

If crossing the Little Belt upon the ice with an army was a bold and daring undertaking, it sinks into nothing compared with passing the Great Belt in the same manner; yet this also was accomplished by Charles Gustavus. Following up his first victory over the Danes, he soon took possession of the whole island of Funen; and, after having sent one of his best officers to ascertain the state of the ice, he assembled his generals at Nyeborg, and proposed to continue the march across it.

The bravest amongst them quailed before such an undertaking, and shrank from so awful a responsibility. They represented that for four centuries a single man had not been known to traverse this channel when frozen, and therefore, that it was an act of utter temerity to attempt it with a whole army and heavy artillery. But the king could not be turned from his purpose, and the legions forthwith commenced their perilous march, wading at times through water nearly up to their knees, and expecting every step to terminate their fate; nevertheless, the passage was accomplished without an accident, and with scarcely a

check, the route chosen being by Langeland, Lalland, and Falstar.

Our voyage of twenty miles across the Great Belt occupied little more than two hours, and was an agreeable change after the tedious post-travelling. We landed at Corsoer, a small town situate on a peninsula, and defended by an insignificant fort. The harbour is very good for small craft, but the depth of water not sufficient for vessels of large tonnage. The place itself is neat enough, but is characterised by nothing remarkable, and derives its chief importance from being on the high road to Copenhagen.

Here we again took diligence, always hoping that, on approaching the capital, an improvement would take place in the rate of travelling; but we were still doomed to disappointment, and to suffer the ennui of an everlasting jog-trot, although the roads are as good as any in Europe, and the island of Zealand is celebrated for its fine breed of horses.

We were surprised, under these circumstances, to find Denmark advancing so prosperously in her industrial affairs; for a country in which slow travelling is systematically adopted seems unlikely to progress rapidly in other things; not because flying quickly over the ground is of itself essential to the advancement of a nation, but that the reverse indicates a reckless extravagance of time, or an ignorance of its true value, which can scarcely exist without throwing a torpor over all business transactions, and rendering the people unsusceptible of an onward impulse. In such nations there is an utter disregard of the adage "Defer not till the evening what the morning may

accomplish;" while a *laisser-aller* kind of feeling exists concerning their affairs amounting almost to indifference.

This is a most striking feature to the English traveller, forming as it does so great a contrast to the habits of his fellow-countrymen. The only European nation which approaches England in general thrift of time is France, and she has made immense strides in this direction within the last twenty years; but in war she has long shown how well acquainted she is with its value. Could the Americans so rapidly have attained their present position of grandeur had they not possessed in a marked degree this characteristic of their British progenitors? It is in fact the foundation of all greatness. Governments may raise kingdoms to the highest pitch of military glory by possessing this virtue in combination with other talents, and may equally degrade them, whatever their abilities, by allying themselves to that "thief of time"—procrastination. But for nations to become rich and great through the arts of peace, it is essential that a clear perception of the preciousness of moments should be stamped on the minds of the people. No man ever became distinguished for exalted learning or profound knowledge, excelled in arms or in diplomacy, in painting or in sculpture, who was a spendthrift in *time*. Napoleon I. comprehended this to a remarkable degree. Without such knowledge his genius would have availed him little. The same qualities that raise an individual are required to elevate a nation. The short distances which the Danes are obliged to travel by land in their country is perhaps sufficient to account for their habitual slowness in this respect.

We saw many of those rounded blocks of gneiss and

granite which, in countless ages past, were borne from the frozen regions of the Pole upon floating fields of ice, and one by one dropped through their melting bosoms on to this land, then forming but the sea's bed. They are now frequently gathered together and built into rough boundary walls.

Zealand is the largest of the Danish islands, and is important not only for its size, but from containing the capital of the kingdom. The country is generally studded with small hills, which never rise more than a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, and are interspersed with pretty lakes, or woods of beech and oak. The farming appears good; but green hedges are not seen here as in Schleswig, nor are the farm-houses and buildings under one roof, as in the Duchies.

This absence of hedges reminded us of the change which is taking place in English scenery. All that characterised England, and gave it the appearance of a land of gardens and of parks is now being gradually swept away before the levelling mania of a new farming system, that may be profitable to the cultivator of the soil, but is the relentless enemy of the beautiful. Trees are hewed, hedges cleared, and banks razed; thus converting into a series of wide and open tracts, the country once full of captivating variety and pleasing contrasts. In a short time hence, the man returning to his native land after an absence of twenty years, will find all his dearest associations destroyed, and will no longer recognise the smiling home of his childhood.

We stopped half an hour at Slagelse, and visited the church; a Gothic structure of the eleventh century, a period prolific in such edifices in Denmark. The town appeared

thriving, and the vicinity is remarkable for the fertility of its soil; but this is the case throughout the island of Zealand.

Slagelse claims as its patron Saint one of those beings whom a superstitious age delighted to invest with marvellous attributes. Holy Anders was a monk of a neighbouring monastery who possessed a deep insight into human character, and knew well how to take advantage of the credulity of the age. He inspired the people not only with a high opinion of his sanctity, but raised the belief that he was endowed with supernatural powers. Tradition relates of him many wonderful achievements, amongst the least extraordinary of which was a feat performed on a new-born foal. Having been promised by Vladimir I. as much land as he could ride round on this singular steed during the time that monarch was in his bath, the monk imparted so much strength and endurance to the animal, and was thus enabled to make so wide a circuit, that the courtiers flew in alarm to hurry the king from his bath. Holy Anders bestowed this land on Slagelse, which probably did more to procure him the honour of being chosen as its patron saint, than any veneration inspired by his miraculous powers.

About two hours after leaving Slagelse we reached a small but charming lake; one of three which assist to form a peninsula, whereon stand the little town and college of Soro. Never was locality more aptly chosen as the peaceful retreat of learning. The scenery around is peculiarly pleasing: gardens and smiling fields are there, with trees of varied foliage reflected from the bright water's surface; quiet nooks also, wherein the student

may shut himself from the outer world, and, free from distraction, pore over the book of science or philosophy, while surrounded by the softest beauties of nature.

It was evening when we arrived at the lake of Soro, — one of those calm and divine evenings, without a breath of air to stir a leaf. The sun was low in the horizon; and the only sounds that broke the stillness were the occasional vesper songs of birds. Save these, all was tranquil — intensely tranquil. A very "rapture of repose" was there, producing that condition of nature which lulls the mind into a dreamy state, and excites the imaginative faculties. If the learned Saxo Grammaticus experienced at Soro, in the middle of the twelfth century, many days such as this, we can well fancy his accepting traditions handed down by songs and ballads, and adopting them as historical facts, although, in this discriminating age, we are inclined to look suspiciously on things which are not supported by stronger evidence than that derived from such a source. That Saxo should have gone back to a thousand years before Christ, to find in Dan the first King of Denmark, certainly appears as though he had given his ideality too wide a range; but when we remember that letters had not yet made sufficient progress in the North entirely to supersede the oral method of preserving and perpetuating the knowledge of important events, we cannot be surprised at finding a man even of such great talent, not entirely free from the general credulity of the age, nor from the feeling which attached importance to such testimony.

The locality where now stands the college of Soro once belonged to a rich and powerful family, a member

of which, early in the twelfth century, there founded a monastery. His son, Absalom, converted it into an abbey some years after; and under his fostering care it rose to considerable importance, retaining for several centuries its power and consideration. Although the Reformation tolerated few such establishments, the Abbey of Soro nevertheless maintained its position and dignity many years after the doctrines of Luther had superseded those of the Roman Catholic Church in Denmark; and it was not secularised until 1580. Frederic II. converted it into an academy for the education of sixty youths, half to receive instruction gratis, the other half, being nobles, to pay.

The means for educating the sons of the nobility at that period, being very inadequate in Denmark, they were sent from their own country to foreign universities; but Christian IV., desirous that facilities of acquiring learning should be afforded them at home, extended considerably the basis on which Soro had been established, and through his influence it was soon resorted to by princes and dukes.

The college subsequently fell and rose with the varying circumstances of the times, and reached the maximum of its prosperity under Frederic V., who shed over it a greater lustre than it had ever before attained; but which again declining, has never since been entirely recovered. The present edifice is a fine building, nearly new, the old abbey, with the exception of the church, having been destroyed by fire early in the present century. The cottages of the professors stud the banks of the lake, and in their simplicity harmonise well with the scene.

Archbishop Absalom, the great and early patron of Soro

Abbey, was one of those extraordinary men who started up from time to time, amidst the strifes and darkness of the Middle Ages, to illumine the history of their country. He added great learning to original talents, and was equally renowned as a warrior, as he was respected and honoured as an ecclesiastic. He frequently doffed the mitre and cast away the crosier, to wear the helmet and buckle on the sword, and no one was so little relished as an antagonist by the fierce pirates, who constantly attacked the coasts of Zealand, as this martial and valiant priest.

His capacities were so great, his energies so constant, and his physical powers so enduring, that at one and the same time he held nearly all the principal offices of the State. Archbishop of Lund, Bishop of Roeskilde, Chief Judge, Prime Minister, Admiral, General, and Pope's Legate, he was, nevertheless, unknown to neglect the duties of this multiplicity of offices. He died in 1201, and his remains were placed in the Abbey Church of Soro, a peaceful resting place for one whose life had passed in the midst of storms.

Continuing our journey, we passed through the little town of Ringstœd, that also possessed an abbey much celebrated in its day. The church is eight hundred years old, and interesting from containing the ashes of many Danish sovereigns; we did not stop, however, to examine the interior, as we were now approaching Roeskilde, which occupied a conspicuous place in the history of Denmark during the Middle Ages, not only as the most important Bishop's See, but as the capital of the kingdom, and the residence of a long line of Denmark's monarchs.

On reaching Roeskilde we drove to the "Railway

Hotel," a dirty, uncomfortable house, and falling far short of what might have been expected in a new establishment, that is, comparing it with other inns of the country itself. While it would be unfair and absurd to look for the same accommodation and luxury in a provincial town of Denmark, as are to be found in the better class of hotels in large capitals; and while we would avoid dragging down such a house as this to the level of the horrible places it has been our fate to meet with in some of the remote parts of Russia; yet, every traveller has a legitimate reason for complaining of the absence of cleanliness.

CHAP. VI.

ROESKILDE, ITS CATHEDRAL AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS. — THE KING AND THE PRIEST. — THE DUTCH ARTIST AND ITALIAN SCULPTOR.—ROYAL MONUMENTS. — TOMB OF MARGARET, QUEEN OF DENMARK. — A MYSTERIOUS CASE. — ARRIVAL AT COPENHAGEN.

FEW vestiges of the palmy days of Roeskilde now remain. Its numerous churches and monasteries, its ancient palaces and other buildings, have gradually disappeared, until the Cathedral stands almost alone in its glory; that is, the glory of having withstood the changes, the vicissitudes, and the ravages of time; but certainly not in the glory of its architectural beauty, for a rougher, or more uninteresting building in that respect, we never gazed upon.

In the first place, it is built of brick — a material unsuited for the display of skill in workmanship, and affording no light and shade, no variety, no forcible perspective. It is true that the architecture of the eleventh century, the date of the Cathedral, was heavy in character, and had scarcely any ornament; while the art was less advanced in Denmark than in other parts of Europe, but as England was governed by Canute the Great during part of the time occupied in building this structure, it might be supposed that he would have borrowed from, and that Denmark would have been nearly on a par with her; but such was not the case.

The beautiful churches of Spires, Worms, and Mentz are of the same period as that of Roeskilde, so that architecture was then very much farther advanced in Germany than in Denmark. Those three churches possess in combination with extraordinary solidity, a solemn, an imposing, and a magnificent effect. It is not unlikely, however, that the Cathedral of Roeskilde has had some alterations or additions made at a later date, and that we can therefore scarcely judge of its appearance in the original state. The towers are seen from a distance with the best effect, dark, gloomy, and heavy; they stand out against the sky as fitting representatives of the epoch when they were erected.

If Roeskilde Cathedral has nothing particularly attractive externally, one finds on entering that other things exist, independent of form or size, giving intense interest to the building: these are historical associations and regal monuments. We could not forget that Ulf the jarl was murdered by the command of his brother-in-law, Canute the Great, in the very choir where we stood; or that Sweyn the Second, forgetting the fate of his father Ulf, ordered the massacre of several nobles in the same sacred edifice. Nor could we fail to recall the singular fatality which seemed to cling to this family. Canute IV. and Benedict, slain in the cathedral of Odense, were sons of Sweyn II., while Charles, son of Canute IV., met with precisely the same end as his father. He became Count of Flanders, and was killed in a church by his own subjects.

What an extraordinary picture do these deeds of blood disclose, of the wild and ungoverned play of passions in the North, and the wretched crimes resulting from them,

long after the introduction of Christianity. *Its* softening influence had not yet overcome that hereditary tendency to violence, a legacy from the pagan days of Odin, when men were regarded with greater respect whose names were connected with sanguinary deeds; when brutality was often mistaken for bravery, and when acts revolting to true religion and civilisation were considered the surest means of obtaining admission to Valhalla.

In the midst of such scenes the pioneers of Christianity had always difficult, often dangerous, parts to play. We have briefly alluded to the perils through which St. Anscarius fought his way, armed only with the profound belief that the sanctity of his mission, would carry him unscathed amidst the fiery opposition of the turbulent pagans with whom he had to deal. Nearly two hundred and fifty years had rolled by, after the first conversions by Anscarius, when Sweyn II. was guilty, through his myrmidons, of the double crime of murder and sacrilege in the Cathedral of Roeskilde; but the bishop of that See was a worthy successor of Anscarius, and did not hesitate to denounce the king's act with as much rigour as though he had been a private individual.

The resolute churchman even went so far in the exercise of his spiritual authority, as to forbid the monarch to desecrate with his presence that edifice which he had already too deeply polluted by his barbarous act. Fortunately, Sweyn was sufficiently generous to admire the man who could thus stand forth in the consciousness of his duty, and brave that vengeance which he had shown himself capable of taking, when roused even by trivial circumstances. The King was subdued by the priest, and

consented to humble himself, not only before God, but in the presence of his people, by doing penance for his sins in the Cathedral. From that day to the moment of his death, Sweyn was an active supporter of the Church, and the founder of many religious establishments.

The interior of the Cathedral is marked by an extreme simplicity, not unsuited to its character of a great mausoleum for the deceased monarchs of the present dynasty, that commenced with Christian I., who united the three crowns of Scandinavia upon his brow, and which promises to become extinct in the reigning King of Denmark, after an existence of more than four hundred years.

Our guide pointed out some marks on the wall, showing the heights of several Danish sovereigns. According to one of them, Christian I. must have been a veritable giant of nearly seven feet, and have possessed proportionate muscular power, to have wielded the enormous sword that is hanging close by.

We examined with curiosity and interest the altar-piece and sides of the choir, consisting of elaborate carving in wood, between two and three hundred years old, of Dutch workmanship, representing the life of the Saviour, with other incidents from the Bible, in that quaint and bizarre style, found in numerous works of the same kind and date, still seen in the churches of Belgium.

In the specimens before us, the artists had embodied sublime conceptions in most ridiculous forms; while the commonest things of every day life, were dragged into the picture to represent abstract ideas. Whether the intention was to pull down the incomprehensible acts of the Almighty to a level with the ignorance of the age,

and to exemplify them in such a way as spoke directly to the understanding of the people; or whether the artists believed they had penetrated the sublime mysteries of the Divinity, and could thus, without violating their meaning, present them forcibly in a material form, we do not pretend to decide; at all events, they have accomplished in these carvings an admirable example of that "one step from the sublime to the ridiculous."

We proceeded from the choir at once to a chapel containing the remains of Frederic II. and Christian III., where rose up before us as if by enchantment, two lovely monuments erected in honour of those monarchs, presenting the most striking and charming contrast to the works we had just examined.

The Dutch artist, native of a flat country, with straight dykes and parallel canals, without mountain or rock to break the dull monotony, and rouse him into a conception of the beautiful; whose days passed in a desperate struggle to keep possession of that home beneath the level of the sea, whence it had been rescued, and where the restless billows, with undying perseverance, lash the artificial barriers, in order to regain the empire of their own domain; where the humid atmosphere, uncongenial to the birth of bright thoughts, and the play of fancy, takes no leap beyond the homely things around; so in that choir the matter-of-fact Dutchman has clothed the sublime in meanest garments. But what have we here? Here the sculptor, child of a sunny land, where rushing streams dash down the fertile mountain's side, or gentler rivers steal through rich alluvial valleys; where vegetation clothes the earth with full luxuriance, and the prolific vine is

hung with clustering grape; where Vesuvius spouts forth its living fire, and tints with ruddy glare the vaulted firmament; where wildest passions twine with gentlest feelings, and with burning aspirations mingle tenderest sentiments; where the clear dry air refracts the softest light that sheds its hues on every object round; where ancient temples still existing, take back the thoughts to glorious days; where all combined excite imagination, and lead man to invest even common things with a touch of poetry. So in this chapel has the spiritous Italian raised over the ashes of the royal dead, sumptuous monuments in pure white marble, adorned with figures almost aërial, that radiate from every point the genius of the sculptor.

We almost forget, while gazing on these exquisite productions, how little worthy was one of the monarchs of so rich a memorial. Christian III. had few good points of character, for although the pretended champion of the Reformation, he grasped with one hand the property of the Church, while with the other he ground down and enslaved the people. The avowed follower of the doctrines of Luther, he yet confirmed the power of life and death to the nobles over their vassals. Frederic II. has left a better name; he was the patron of learning and an enlightened prince, who promoted especially the study of the sciences.

Frederic gave the island of Huen, together with an annual pension, to Tycho Brahé, the first astronomer of the age, who had resigned the advantages of birth, wealth, station, and nobility, to follow his favourite study; and although his system has been superseded by that of Coper-

nicus, and some of his theories are proved to be erroneous, he was nevertheless a great practical astronomer, and has the honour of having opened that path which was afterwards so successfully followed by Kepler and Newton.

The two monuments were erected by Christian IV. as a mark of respect for his father and grandfather, and were executed in Italy.

In another chapel are tombs in marble by a Danish sculptor named Wiedwelt, which in beauty of design, and perfection of detail, are rivals, of no slight pretensions, to their Italian neighbours. One is in honour of Christian V., a king notorious for possessing no principles to inspire respect, he being the very essence of dishonour; the other to Frederic IV., who with a few good points had so many bad qualities, that the former, absorbed in the latter, left nothing to admire.

A chapel was being repaired and beautified to receive a bronze statue of Christian IV. by Thorvaldsen, but the frescoes and other decorations harmonized little with the plainness around, although, had they been carried throughout the building, they would not have been unsuited to the architecture, which agreed in date with the Romanesque, that period, before heavy pillars, and semi-circular arches, had been superseded by the graceful clustered columns and other beauties of the pointed style, which needed not the "foreign aid of ornament" to give it character.

There are in the church some other tombs and rich sarcophagi of kings and nobles, after examining which, we turned to gaze with different feeling, but equal interest, upon a plain slab over the remains of the simple

monk, yet learned historian, Saxo Grammaticus; and then we descended to the vaults, crowded with regal coffins, mostly decorated with massive and costly ornaments of silver, on coverings of black velvet. Some there were, however, containing the bodies of the last sovereigns, remarkable for their extreme simplicity. At the time of their interment Denmark had no longer the wealth to expend on useless monuments; her dominions had been curtailed, and her treasures exhausted, from a fruitless policy, which entailed disasters, and left her poor and prostrate.

The interior of the cathedral having been altered and arranged to suit the form of Lutheran worship, the general effect has lost considerably from the change. Before quitting we must take one glance at the monumental tomb of that extraordinary woman, Margaret, Queen of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, who raised the kingdom to the highest pitch of glory and prosperity; and who has been, not improperly, called the Semiramis of the North, from her legislative qualities, and firm, undaunted character, but not from any resemblance to the licentiousness, and other vices of the great Assyrian Queen. Margaret brought about the union of Calmar, that solemn act by which the states of the three countries proclaimed them for ever to constitute one monarchy; and had her successors possessed her talents, Scandinavia might have been a great and powerful country to this day.

Roeskilde has all the signs of what it really is — a town that has seen better days. Close to the cathedral is a comparatively modern palace, wherein the provincial States assemble, but we did not enter it. Before leaving

the place, however, the guide would insist on taking us to see the fountain whence it is said the town takes its name, "Roe's-Kilde," (King) Roe's Well. This we found to be a beautiful natural spring, pouring forth a large body of limpid water.

Our cicerone appeared to think a visit to this spring absolutely necessary to all strangers; the chances of losing the train were of no importance in comparison, and even a suggestion to that effect produced an expression such as we might imagine a Swiss guide to throw into his physiognomy on a tourist proposing to leave Schaffhausen without seeing the falls of the Rhine.

We took our places in a carriage of the only railway then existing in Denmark Proper (since carried on to Corsoer), and connecting the ancient with the present capital of the country. Beside us sat a pretty Danish girl, with soft, languishing eyes, whose whole anxiety seemed concentrated on a box about the size of, and resembling in shape, a baby's coffin. The maiden excited our interest, and the box our curiosity. What could that suspicious-looking case contain, on which so much unusual, even tender, care was bestowed? We started so widely from the mark in our first conjectures, that we never should have guessed the truth, had not a fellow-traveller come to the rescue, and informed us, that the fair "voyageuse" had attained some celebrity as a "violiniste," and was now on her way to play at concerts in Copenhagen. The mystery was solved. The case of course contained the cherished instrument on which depended her bread, perhaps her musical reputation, for even with her genius she may have been unable to change suddenly from one

violin to another; and the soft notes that she had drawn from this, had probably endeared it to her, as much as the plaintive tones of an infant's voice steal round a mother's heart.

Whizzing along over the smooth rail at about twenty miles an hour, we passed first through rather pretty scenery, which soon, however, led into a flat and less interesting country. On reaching Copenhagen we drove at once to the Royal Hotel, where we quickly felt, and made ourselves, at home. The establishment was most comfortable in every respect; and Mr. Loebel, the proprietor, was ever ready to give information, or to do anything which could afford his inmates pleasure. We travelled some thousands of miles after leaving his hotel, without finding another to compare with it, excepting only that of the Miss Bensons' at St. Petersburg.

CHAP. VII.

COPENHAGEN. — EFFECT OF GENIUS. — A PERILOUS DRIVE. — NELSON, GAMBIER, AND WELLINGTON. — TIVOLI GARDENS. — A MANIA OF DESPOTIC SOVEREIGNS. — DANISH ARTISTS. — THE ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUM. — CURIOUS WEAPONS. — NOCTURNAL VISIT TO A SAVAGE TRIBE. — MAN'S PROGRESS IN ART.

THE day after our arrival at Copenhagen being Sunday, we attended service at the English chapel, a dirty, miserable-looking place, and a disgrace to England. There were few persons present; but the duties were well performed. Thence we walked to the Frue Kirk, an old church rebuilt; but the proportions are not good externally, the Doric portico, being insignificant as compared with the size of the building, produces a bad effect, and spoils the whole structure.

On entering, we halted upon the very threshold of the church, consisting of a single lofty nave, scarcely knowing what could raise within us emotions at once so grave and yet so pleasurable. The interior is solemn in simplicity, fine in proportions, but plain to an extreme, and severe in outline; there is no ornament, no colouring, no gold to reflect the light and relieve the general formality. What is it then, that checks the hurried step, and holds one spell-bound by its mysterious power? What is it that lulls and softens all other feelings into

rest, but leaves a vague and undefinable sensation, which does not sadden, yet subdues? It is that subtle principle emanating from genius, which, even after the generating brain has ceased to work, still lives in its glorious productions.

Standing out boldly from the wall, and arranged at uniform distances, on either hand, are six apostles in commanding marble statues, while in advance of the altar kneels an angel holding a concha in the outstretched hands. There is in the figure something so divine; in the attitude so much of grace; in the upturned countenance portrayed, such intense longing after a better and a brighter state which fervent hope has lighted into faith; that one might look until one almost believed the expanded wings about to move, and carry the pure form far away into other worlds!

There is, however, a still finer object which rivets the attention, and chases all other thoughts. It is the colossal figure of the Saviour struck from the chisel of the great Thorvaldsen, and the most glorious inspiration of even *his* mighty genius. Standing behind and above the altar, this noblest specimen of the noblest art rises full of dignity and power, the very personification of all that is beautiful and sublime in matter, spiritualised by the magic talent of the sculptor. There is such an embodiment of ideal virtue with physical perfection, in the calm, deep, soul-stirring expression on the manly face, that even the cold marble as we gaze, appears to warm and glow from a spiritual fire within, while over each lineament plays that fervent, earnest, entreating beneficence, which—confirmed and strengthened by the gracious and inviting attitude—

requires no words to say what the sculptor intends to depict,—"Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

The twelve Apostles were not entirely the work of Thorvaldsen, but they received from him the finishing touches, and betray strong signs of the master-hand. Although they do not pretend to that exquisite finish and delicate workmanship which characterise the "Saviour," they are nevertheless productions of vast merit, and would claim more attention, were not all the admiration concentrated upon the one absorbing object of consummate beauty.

St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Kneeling Angel, appear to have had particular care bestowed upon them by the sculptor, and in the latter especially he has shown the exalted purity and refinement of his genius. The bas-reliefs about the church are also masterpieces, while a perfect harmony exists, not only in the statues one with another, but with the simplicity of the temple, which, while adorning, these marbles elevate to grandeur.

Not far from the Frue Kirke stands the Trinity Church, conspicuous for a great round tower sixty-five feet in diameter, surmounted by a platform, on which is the Observatory. The plan having been arranged by the famous Danish astronomer, Longomontan, the heavy structure was built in 1637. Externally it is remarkable only for its extreme solidity, internally for an ascent fourteen feet wide, that winds spirally from base to summit, and is constructed without steps. It is said that Peter the Great, when on a visit at Copenhagen, determined, with his accustomed daring, to drive to the top, and actually

accomplished this feat in a carriage and four. Wraxall relates the same story, however, of Christian V.

We mounted by a more simple process, and from the summit enjoyed an interesting and extensive view. Towards the east, across the waters of the Sound, could be seen the shores of Scania, so long a province of Denmark, and the stronghold of Christianity in the Middle Ages. Lund, one of its towns, was the seat of the Archbishoprick and Primacy of the Danish kingdom, an appointment invested at one time with considerable power. Scania was a constant battle field on which the Danes and Swedes for ages contended with variable success, and is by far the most fertile part of Sweden.

The sea was animated by vessels and small craft moving to and fro, and dancing lightly over the crested billows thrown up by a smart south-westerly breeze; while a persevering steamer, defying alike the opposing wind and waves, came boldly towards the harbour, casting the white foam from her bows, and darkening the atmosphere astern by a long black line of smoke. Nearer to us was a solitary smack sailing more quietly along beneath the shelter of the land; her sails were old and brown, and altogether she looked as though she had encountered many a storm; but she was full of interest to us, for she traversed that space which was the scene, nearly fifty years before, of the most sanguinary and hard-contested battle that the annals of naval warfare can produce.

We could see again, through the mind's eye, the gallant Nelson leading his fleet in the "Elephant," and regarding as little the banks and shoals as he did the Danish ships and batteries, or his superior's signal to withdraw before

the fight had ended gloriously for England. We could behold again that bravery on the one side maddened by patriotism into desperation, on the other that cool valour lashed by opposition into deep and stern resolve. Never did Dane more heroically defend his hearth, never did British sailor more nobly do his duty, never was attack more justifiable, never was battle followed by more important results to the conquering country. Had Nelson failed, and the Northern Confederation united their fleets, and developed their power, the consequences to England might have been most disastrous, perhaps fatal.

We thought, too, of Gambier, and his appearance, six years later, in the same waters; of his attack, and the bravery of his men; of his success, and the captured ships; but the remembrance brought not the like feeling of exulting pride to our heart, for we knew that the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 was not altogether justifiable.

Turning towards the west, we looked upon the position taken up by the British army under Cathcart and Wellington; beyond which, the eye ranged over a wide extent of flat country, presenting but few charms. Beneath us lay the city, with the larger portion on the Isle of Zealand, the smaller on that of Amak; between them the naval harbour and commercial port; the docks and arsenals being on the latter island. Towards the sea we saw the great citadel of Frederikhaven, bristling with guns, and nearer to us the castle, and gardens of Rosenborg, wherein nursery-maids delight to walk, and young Danes make their first essays at running without leading-strings. Here is a tall tower, there an overgrown palace; now shoot up the twisted tails of giant dragons to form a spire; now

creeps a staircase, serpent-like, outside a lofty steeple. Those lines of light are but canals, on which merchandise is floating to the city's heart; and those masts and spars belong to vessels of all nations.

From the tower whence we had taken a general view of the city, we descended to the streets, through which we walked for many hours to take the town in detail. Little life was seen in any part but the Oster-Gade, where all the bustle of the place seemed concentrated. We were wofully disappointed in the shops, which presented no attractions by the display of goods, as in London or Paris; no amusing signboards indicative of the avocations of the shopkeepers, as in Petersburg or Moscow.

The street architecture is plain in the extreme,—though that in the eastern part of the town is by far the best—and even the palaces have little to boast of in the way of beauty. The principal *Place* is irregular in form, ornamented with an equestrian statue of Christian V., possessing neither grace nor proportion, and being altogether as heavy as the lead of which it is composed. The Frederic's Platz—an octagon cut by cross streets into four parts, each being a palace, presenting a façade uniform with the others — deserves no higher commendation than that of being "pretty;" while the bronze equestrian statue of Frederic V. in the centre has scarcely escaped being "ugly." The churches generally are as uninteresting within as they are plain without, but are rescued from oblivion by the glories of the Frue Kirke, already mentioned, which we visited frequently during our sojourn in Copenhagen, and always with increased admiration.

We went several times to the Opera, in the principal

theatre,—of moderate size, and well fitted up,—where the music was excellent. The "prima donna," a handsome Swede, sang with extreme sweetness, acted with talent, and was altogether a credit to her country—even that country which has produced a Jenny Lind. Another species of theatre, much frequented by the people, consists of an enormous room with a stage at one end, where popular pieces are acted, between which dancing takes place in the body of the vast apartment. An evening visit to this double source of amusement entertained us much.

But of all the places which offer their attractions to the Copenhagen "bourgeoisie," the Tivoli Gardens are certainly the favourites. Here may be seen aged men and blushing maidens, comely matrons and beardless youths, wrinkled dames and rosy babies, all alike enjoying the rapid descent of the "Russian Mountain," or the giddy whirling of the "merry-go-round." Whether this system of old and young seeking amusement of a similar kind together, has the effect of keeping the joyous feelings of the latter in check, whether imitation, always large in children, leads them to adopt the same sage look as their parents, or whether a serious demeanour is natural to the Dane in early life, we know not, but the physiognomical demonstrations at the Tivoli Gardens of Copenhagen display a very small amount of variety,—extreme, even comic gravity being the pervading expression. Dissolving views and theatrical representations attracted their spectatorial groups, and a concert its auditory, but the performances of the slack-rope dancer elicited the most intense admiration.

We walked one fine evening about a mile and a half by a beautiful avenue of trees to the Fredericksberg Palace, the head-quarters of the British army in 1807, a large, ugly, and now deserted, building, on the top of a chalk hill, the only elevation in the vicinity of Copenhagen, and an unfortunate neighbour to the city, for here the English fixed their siege battery, which did immense injury to the place. The gardens are neglected and desolate, but the view from the terrace of the palace is pleasing, although not extensive.

On one side of the avenue are numerous tea-gardens, where the good folks flock in great numbers to imbibe the decoction of "bohea" or "gunpowder;" having accomplished which to repletion, they either take an aërial flight in a swing, probably for the purpose of passing off the superfluous caloric, or they let digestion run its quieter course by seeking some other pastimes which the gardens always afford.

The Royal Hotel is immediately opposite the gigantic palace of Christiansborg, and from our windows we look along the façade, four hundred feet in length, and six stories high; but these proportions give no just idea of the enormous size of the building. Architecturally it is one great uninteresting mass, only rescued from tameness by some Corinthian pilasters and a few bas-reliefs of Thorvaldsen's execution. It is generally pronounced imposing, but mere size and stucco scarcely merit even that negative praise. This palace is built upon the site of an older one destroyed by fire in 1795, and is a superb example of the way that kings may overbuild their dwellings like commoner people—a species of folly which, on a smaller scale,

has crushed and impoverished more old families in Scotland, and especially in Ireland, than any other kind of monomania. Not only did these "fine places" often ruin the builders themselves, but, in entailed properties, came down as incubi upon their successors. To keep up the family mansion was a point of honour; a large house could not be left unfilled; friends and relatives were invited; hospitality was unbounded; the proprietor was voted the best fellow that ever existed, and remained so until ruined; after which the hereditary domicile was deserted, or one wing only inhabited, while the rest fell into disrepair. A short history this, but unfortunately true in hundreds of cases.

It appears to us that building palaces is the peculiar madness of despotic Sovereigns: there are enough in Copenhagen to lodge half the inhabitants of the city, independently of many other royal domiciles scattered about the country. In Russia the number of Imperial palaces is immense, and the sums spent upon them fabulous. The absolute Monarchs of France had such a rage for building "châteaux," and their extravagance was so unbounded in the pursuit of this expensive taste, while the funds for indulging it were wrung from the scanty earnings of the poor, that it produced such an amount of discontent as finally to become one of the most powerful causes of the revolution of 1789. Thus by the Kings following this propensity, the fate of a nation was sealed with blood, and the world thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion during five-and-twenty years.

No one, however, can regret the erection of such edifices as the Louvre or the Versailles Palace, since they

are applied to most admirable purposes; for although they may be emblematic of reckless expenditure on the part of the Kings, they stand as noble memorials of the resources of the country and the greatness of the nation, and from becoming depositories of the fine arts, they exercise a powerful influence in refining the tastes and elevating the sentiments of the people.

It would indeed seem as though the selfishness of Sovereigns were wisely intended to be ultimately beneficial to the public, for it is questionable whether so many magnificent museums would ever have been founded, had not the buildings previously existed, and even become useless for their original destination. There are few collections of any kind in the capitals of Europe which are deposited in edifices erected expressly to contain them. Paris, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Dresden, Stockholm, Moscow, Venice, and many other places, will at once suggest themselves to the traveller as proofs of this assertion; and Copenhagen is as conspicuous an instance as any of them. Berlin is the only city where we remember to have seen the building of a great national museum commenced on an extensive plan; and when that structure is completed, it will not only be an ornament to the capital, and a credit to the government, but will be scarcely surpassed in beauty and size by any other in Europe.

The Christiansborg Palace contains several valuable and highly interesting collections, which are rendered much more instructive and attractive from their admirable arrangement. Indeed an excellent system of classification is carried out in all the museums of Copenhagen, and might be imitated with considerable advantage in many

other countries, not excepting England, which holds no high position in the management of her museums.

The picture gallery is large and well filled, but contains few paintings which fix strongly the attention; there are, however, many originals of all schools, some of which might have been good in bygone days, but past neglect has damaged them so much, that recent care and attentive cleaning have proved ineffectual in thoroughly restoring them: they are, however, seen to the best advantage, for the light is good, and the rooms are well adapted to their purpose. It is quite possible that we did not appreciate some few of the paintings in this collection as they deserved, from our having seen a great many very good pictures but a short time previously, and amongst them those contained in the private gallery of the late King of Holland at the Hague, which, though small, was exceedingly choice. It is incomprehensible why his son, the present Sovereign, should have permitted such a collection of gems to be sold by auction, and lost to the country; but that being the case, every nation in Europe, and many private individuals, have benefited by it. Several of the best paintings were purchased by the late Emperor Nicholas of Russia, and are now in St. Petersburg.

From the royal collection in the Christiansborg Palace, we went to the private one of Count Moltke, small but in good order. Thence we proceeded to the exhibition of the productions of Danish artists, some of which were good, more indifferent, and others bad; yet the whole very creditable to the nation; for we should not lose sight of its size, and population of only fourteen hundred thousand souls, when estimating the amount of talent pro-

duced by the country, although this has been too frequently overlooked by travellers who have written on the subject. What has been accomplished in the fine arts is principally due to the natural abilities and perseverance of the people themselves, for these northern climates have few attractions to those born in the milder regions of the South; while, in other respects, Denmark has never possessed sufficient inducements for learned or talented foreigners to seek a lengthened residence on her shores. She has, however, given birth to many men distinguished in various ways, who have cultivated the arts, sciences, and letters with enthusiasm and success.

Within the last hundred years a great impetus has been given to native talent. Men of learning have not only been encouraged to travel, but have been furnished with funds to do so from the State, in order that they might make researches, and become acquainted with the progress made in arts and sciences abroad, and thereby keep their own on a par with other countries. There is still an annual grant for this purpose. Numerous learned and literary societies have been formed, and Copenhagen can boast of being far a-head of any capital in Europe of the same size, and many of the larger ones, in the number, the value, and the arrangement of her various collections; while education being universal, the taste for reading and instruction is not confined to one class only.

We cannot, however, compliment the Danes on having produced many great architects, at least such as have distinguished themselves in their native country. There are few buildings in the dominions to be pronounced "beautiful," and the Charlottenborg Palace, where the annual

exhibition takes place, resembles externally a huge storehouse. Within, the rooms are large, and some of them are devoted to a fine collection of casts in plaster, of ancient and modern sculpture, the property of the Academy of Arts; many of these specimens being well worthy of examination.

The Ethnographical Museum is most extensive and valuable. The weapons and manufactures are arranged under three heads, commencing with those nations ignorant of the manufacture of metals, and possessing no literature; secondly, those manufacturing iron, but without a literature; and thirdly, those both manufacturing iron, and having a literature. Each of these classes is again subdivided according to the zone, frigid, temperate, or hot, inhabited by the tribes or nations producing the objects.

There is perhaps no other kind of collection which opens to the philosophic mind, so wide a field for observation and inquiry, as that which brings together the productions of man in his different stages of progress. Here we can trace the successive steps by which he has advanced from a rude and uncultivated state, to the most exalted point of civilization; here we can mark the progressive expansion of his intellectual faculties from the excitement of new wants; and the gradual ripening of his reasoning powers under discipline and experience. Here we can follow him through the various stages of his social condition, and observe the changes produced in the arts by the influence of increasing knowledge; and here we can compare him with his fellow man arrived at the same point of mental development in different parts of the globe, under circumstances of climate, or geographical position, totally dissimilar.

In the rudest condition of man, with neither a literature nor the use of metals, we find him the member of a small community, ranging the wild woods for his food, and inhabiting the clefts of rocks, or holes dug in the ground. With no knowledge whatever of the useful arts, he goes naked in a hot, or throws about him, in a cold climate, the skins of beasts killed in the chase. He has no idea of a Supreme Being, acknowledges no superior, and acts alone through the impulses of animal passions.

Farther on in the scale we see him, as one of a more numerous tribe, still a wanderer, and dependent on hunting for his subsistence, but with nascent ideas of the arts. He prepares the skins of animals, arranges them into dress, and decorates his person with a variety of ornaments, while the first essays are made at constructing a shelter against the inclemency of the weather. His weapons become more complicated and ingenious; the bow and arrow, with the javelin, are added to the spear and club, while many implements and domestic utensils are produced. Faint glimmerings of religion appear, but more from fear than veneration; he believes in supernatural beings supposed to hold a power over him for good or for evil; he admits also, a distinction of rank, and regards his chief as a person of some authority, but submits only to his sway on particular occasions. Attachment to his tribe — arising as much from necessity of union for self-protection, as from any other sentiment — the deadly hatred he bears towards his enemy, and an insatiable thirst of revenge, are the predominant feelings of his existence. His wants are few, and his wishes limited; so that he has neither a strong desire for the accumulation of property, nor much oppor-

tunity for exercising the inventive faculties, and the arts are consequently almost confined to the fabrication of objects for the comfort, the decoration, or the defence of his person.

There is a wide difference between the state of advancement of those nations grouped together in one category; for the New Zealanders are infinitely superior in every respect to the solitary bushmen of Southern Africa, and the North American Indians to the debased aborigines of Australasia; while the savages of Terra del Fuego will bear no comparison with the luxurious Tahitians.

It is in the manufacture of his weapons that the savage makes his earliest rude attempts at art. Guided by chance in the first choice of implements for attack or defence, a stone or branch of a tree would naturally be fixed upon. We accordingly find specimens of these in the Museum, the former attached to strong cords of hide to form slings, the latter as war-clubs, in every conceivable shape, and often beautifully carved. The club is the most general kind of weapon, and is found amongst savages all over the world. The collection of bows and arrows, spears, and javelins, is very large, also that of shields,—the simplest objects for defence. The force and precision with which the savage throws his javelin, have often excited my admiration; while the swiftness and accuracy of its flight were not more astonishing than the quickness and dexterity of defence with the shield.

There are many other weapons, not referable to any particular class, but peculiar to the tribes that invented them; such are a New Zealand implement, somewhat in the shape of a battledore—made either of black stone, or

consisting of a bone taken from the whale's head—and spears of immense length, from the Polynesian Islands, armed with poisoned sharks' teeth,—frightful-looking weapons.

But, more curious than any, is the *boomerang* of the New Hollander, composed of a simple piece of hard wood, thin and flat, about eighteen inches long by one and a half wide, curved, yet with no mathematical accuracy. There are two kinds of boomerang, differing only in the amount of curve. The one is thrown straight forward, receiving, by a dexterous movement of the hand, a rapid rotatory motion. It strikes the ground at intervals of six or eight yards, and seems to gain fresh impetus from each touch, for it goes with amazing velocity and to an immense distance. The other is still more singular, and requires greater skill in throwing. It is flung into the air, and, while revolving on its own axis with extreme rapidity, describes a series of larger circles, and, after taking a wide range, returns to fall at the feet of him who sent it forth on its aërial flight.

It appears at first sight extraordinary that so rude and ignorant a being as the Australasian should have contrived so ingenious an implement; but there is a very simple solution of the fact. The leaf of the white gum tree, which is common in New Holland, is of a similar shape, and in falling from the tall tree makes the same eccentric evolutions as the boomerang. By observing this circumstance, the idea was doubtless caught which led to the formation of so curious a weapon.

The boomerang requires a very practised hand to insure its return to the thrower, and few of the natives

themselves can accomplish this with certainty. I once paid a nocturnal visit to a tribe of these savages, and on arriving at their camp found about a dozen huts, or imperfect shelters from the wind, composed only of a few pieces of bark resting against stakes; the whole being arranged in a semicircle, and having a fire before the open front of each wretched den, wherein were huddled three or four beings, breathing an atmosphere of smoke that would have quickly suffocated any ordinary mortal. The night was inky dark, so that when the whole tribe, on our approach, sprang from their murky resting places, and moved rapidly about amidst the fires which cast a lurid glare upon their black and naked forms, it was difficult to believe that one had not roused a pack of demons with their attendant imps. An impression that was greatly increased when a wild yell from the grim bevy pierced the air, and mingling with the howling of numerous dogs, produced a discordant and unearthly sound. Having satisfied my curiosity, and being about to depart, my attention was suddenly arrested by a brilliant fiery circle which passed near to me, and taking a wide range through the black atmosphere, again returned to fall at my feet. The affair was so sudden, so unexpected, and withal so beautiful, that I stood for an instant fixed with astonishment and delight. A tall savage had, unobserved by me, ignited one end of his boomerang, and then with great success had sent it flying through the darkness.

The Greenland collection is decidedly the best in Europe. Here are canoes of seal skin, which have actually been in use; a sledge with harness and trappings for six dogs, wherein some hardy Greenlander has traversed the snow

with his canoe by his side, and his wife and children behind him. A summer tent of seal skin fitted up with utensils and furniture used by the natives, the vessels for cooking and the large dishes to contain fire being made of stone, and of excellent workmanship. The model of a winter residence is also to be seen admirably adapted in construction for keeping out the cold of the frigid zone; it is square in form, and arranged to accommodate four families; each being provided with their own cooking apparatus, and a compartment with a wide, large sleeping bench, covered with seal skin. The walls are thick and composed of turf, the entrance to the abode being by a long passage of the same material. The dresses and other articles are prettily ornamented, and also made of seal skin, which is evidently applied by the Greenlander to as many purposes as the bamboo by the Chinaman.

We were much interested in examining a Greenland wild-fowl spear, having an ingenious contrivance for increasing its velocity when thrown. This consisted of a throwing stick two feet long, flat at one end to rest in the palm of the right hand, and hooked at the other to correspond with a depression in the extremity of the spear, so that the thrower can continue the force that sets the spear in motion, for a longer time than when only making use of the hand. Now, this identical principle is adopted by the Australian, who gives the name of *woomera* to the throwing stick. Thus we have a singular instance of two nations, the farthest removed from each other of any on the surface of the globe, and as widely separated by the climate and physical condition of their countries as by geographical position, yet resorting to a contrivance that

is not general among other savage nations, which, moreover, required the exercise of considerable inventive talent for its production, and is scientific in application. It is a common thing to find men in a like state of mental advancement, with corresponding wants, and similar materials at hand, fashioning them into the same simple shapes; but the example before us is of quite a different nature. As it seems impossible that either of these tribes could have borrowed from the other, this coincidental invention is exceedingly interesting.

In the second stage of man's progress, where a knowledge of the metals has been acquired, a great step towards civilisation is observed. We no longer find him the member of a small community dependent upon fishing or the uncertainty of the chase alone for subsistence; but either applying himself to a pastoral life, or to agriculture, and raising by industry provisions, not only for present use, but for future emergencies. Instead of the temporary habitation suited to a more savage state, he constructs a commodious tent which he transports from place to place, or builds a permanent abode. His acquaintance with metals enables him to make weapons, tools, implements of husbandry, and other articles which facilitate the production of his simple manufactures, and permit him more extensively to cultivate the useful arts. He begins to appreciate the value of property, and to have crude notions of law and government, while the distinctions of rank are more clearly defined. He establishes relations with other nations, and exchanges the surplus fruits of his labour for commodities which increasing wants render necessary to him: thus barter, the parent of commerce, is commenced; while his

energy and ingenuity are farther awakened by intercourse with strangers.

This condition of society is well illustrated in the museum, which is still richer in examples of the third class, comprising nations possessing a literature and knowledge of metals, though in a semi-barbarous or backward state. The number of Japanese productions is large, and only exceeded in extent by the collection of similar objects at the Hague. The Chinese and South American manufactures and curiosities are also most respectably represented.

There are two drums, about four feet high, stained with the blood of children who were sacrificed by an African chief of the Gold Coast, from a superstitious belief, generally existing in the country, that missing property can be recovered, or the thief detected, through the deity propitiated by such a barbarous ceremony. The chief and his prime minister proceeded at night to the spot where the human offerings were made, and assisted at the consummation of the revolting rites. These two worthies were seized shortly after, by the Danish authorities of a settlement within whose jurisdiction the act was committed. They were tried; and the former, who was condemned to imprisonment for life, is now paying the penalty of his crime in Denmark. The blood on these drums furnished strong circumstantial evidence against the delinquents. It is scarcely conceivable that such inhuman customs should still exist within the very precincts of civilization.

This ethnographical collection is contained in a large suite of apartments in an old palace at the western part of the city.

CHAP. VIII.

COPENHAGEN CONTINUED. — COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY. — THE CASTLE OF ROSENBORG. — EVERLASTING FRIENDSHIP. — INTERESTING OBJECTS. — THE KING AND THE ASTRONOMER. — THE END OF A SORROWFUL TALE.

COPENHAGEN is not remarkable for commercial activity; in this respect we were disappointed, for the situation is so admirable, and the harbour so good, that were its trade encouraged and properly developed this port would become the great depôt of traffic between the Baltic and the world. But Denmark Proper has recovered even less than the Duchies from the blow struck at her mercantile navy by England at the beginning of this century, the tonnage of her merchant shipping being proportionately less than that of Schleswig-Holstein.

The disposition and habits of the Dane are opposed to his embarking in great mercantile or manufacturing affairs, where the results are not clearly foreseen. There is nothing speculative in his character, and, therefore, no commercial enterprise. The disasters of 1807 are also too deeply stamped in the minds of the people to permit their rapidly resuming pursuits which the folly of a King, or the indiscretion of a minister, may at any moment

jeopardise. Such influences act strongly on a small nation, especially when it is conscious of inability to defend its trade in times of difficulty.

Wealth is more generally diffused in Denmark than in England; but while few individuals possess great riches, extreme poverty is rarely met with. Luxuries and superfluities are seldom indulged in by the middle classes; their tastes being simpler, their wants fewer, and their habits more frugal than in the same rank of life in England; so that the Dane is as well, perhaps better off with a smaller, than an Englishman with a larger income; while there is a general tendency among the people to add the savings of patient industry to what they already possess, rather than risk all or part of their property upon an uncertain stake. This state of feeling doubtless impedes the rapid development of the mercantile navy, and prevents the extension of manufactures, while it allows the nation to dwindle into a plodding, steady-going race, who have neither the dash nor excitement of speculation, it is true, but at the same time none of the attendant wretchedness, misery, and vice.

The movement of shipping in the Danish ports is, however, large, the exports of raw produce are great, and the importation of manufactured and other goods still more considerable. There are annually upwards of 600,000 tons loaded and unloaded for the foreign commerce of the country; above three fifths being for Denmark Proper, the remainder for Schleswig-Holstein. The official value of importations in 1847, exclusive of the Duchies, amounted to about 24,400,000 rigsbank dollars, and the exportations to 12,600,000; while in 1852 the

imports were valued at nearly 29,000,000, and the exports at 17,300,000 rigsbank dollars.

The total exports and imports in 1847 were in value 4,137,000*l.*, and in 1852, 5,165,000*l.*, sterling, being an augmentation of twenty-five per cent. in five years. The foreign trade of the Duchies did not increase in the same period to nearly so great an extent as that of Denmark, as it suffered much during the civil war from the blockade of the ports by the Danish fleet. The great difference between the value of the foreign imports and exports of Denmark, observed in the above statement, is more apparent than real, as the former are computed with all attendant expenses, while the latter are calculated at the lowest prices, and without any other charges.

Reckoning the inhabitants of Denmark Proper at somewhat more than 1,400,000 souls, these statistics show in 1852, a consumption of imported articles by each individual to the value of 2*l.* 6*s.* sterling, while the exported products are at the rate of 1*l.* 7*s.* per head of the whole population. The coasting trade of the kingdom, including the Duchies, amounted, in 1852, to 490,000 tons of shipping, indicating great activity in the internal traffic; this, however, had not increased in the same ratio as the foreign commerce.

The Exchange is the most original and most picturesque edifice in Copenhagen. It was built in 1624 by Christian IV., and consists of a ground floor, with one story above, the latter being pierced by thirty-nine windows, the basement having semicircular-headed fenestration and several arched entrances, of which the central is the largest; behind and above this, rises a graceful spire com-

posed of four dragons' tails twisted together, the heads being below, and directed to the four cardinal points. The building is three hundred and sixty feet long, and looks very low in proportion; but the spire somewhat relieves this appearance, which, taking the "tout ensemble," can scarcely be called a defect. There is never the same bustle here that is seen near such edifices in other large commercial towns at the hour of "Change."

Among the lions of Copenhagen the Rosenborg Castle holds a high rank. It stands close to the northern boundary of the city, in gardens that are planted with avenues of trees, decorated with indifferent statues, and are open to the public. They were in bad order at the period of our visit. The moat which formerly surrounded Rosenborg Castle is partly filled in, while the drawbridge and other accessories to a fortified residence have been removed, thereby considerably diminishing the picturesque effect of the structure.

This castle is of brick, in that irregular mixed style characteristic of the epoch at which it was erected. Having been attributed, upon insufficient grounds, to Inigo Jones by an early traveller, many successive ones have repeated the assertion, although denied by intelligent Danes. The architecture of the building itself is a refutation of the statement. The works of Inigo Jones, after his visit to Italy, show a marked predilection for the Italian style; and it does not appear that this great architect was in Denmark before that period. Although he followed the fashion of the day, and mixed Gothic with Italian, the latter predominated, and was finally adopted by him in all its

purity. Of this the palace of Whitehall is a glorious example. To him, indeed, is due the honour of having engendered an admiration for the Venetian school of architecture in England, which soon superseded the debased Gothic that had replaced the purer pointed style.

The Castle of Rosenborg is not sufficiently stamped by the peculiar taste, or great genius, of our talented countryman to support the belief of its having been erected after his designs; nevertheless it is a work of merit, and the combination and variety of its outlines would make it highly picturesque, were it of white stone instead of brick.

It was a favourite abode of Christian IV.; but, like many other palaces in Copenhagen, has long ceased to be a royal residence. Originally in the suburbs, it was included within the line of fortifications when the growth of the city rendered the extension of the walls necessary. Christian was fond of palace building, and during an unusually long reign of sixty years had plenty of time to indulge his taste in this, as well as in founding towns and erecting fortresses. He patronised the arts and letters, but was selfish and extravagant; drew down war upon his country by a grasping policy, and died in this castle, in 1648, leaving the national exchequer exhausted.

Having previously given the necessary notice of our intended visit to examine the treasures of which Rosenborg is now the repository, we arrived at the time fixed upon, and were received by so respectable a looking man to conduct us through the apartments, that at first we thought there must be some mistake; but we had the

satisfaction to find our conductor as superior in intelligence, as he was in appearance, to the generality of the species to which he belonged.

We were soon introduced to an interminable suite of rooms, which contained every conceivable thing appertaining to royalty, considered worthy by the curators of finding a place in this museum of Kings. A distinct chamber is devoted to each Monarch, wherein are placed objects of interest which belonged to him, or were produced in his reign, and amongst them always a good sprinkling of personal wardrobe, ranging between coronation robes or state costumes and the simplest article of wearing apparel. These apartments are arranged in chronological order, so that we had only to walk from one to the other to read an illustrated history of Denmark for the last four hundred years, and gain a tolerable insight into the tastes, if not into the characters, of her Kings during that period.

Several of the rooms remain in the same state as when occupied by Christian IV.; and the one in which he died is especially curious, from being surrounded by the portraits of his favourites; judging from them we at once decide that their royal patron had a keen eye for female beauty: yet how plainly do these paintings, in the chamber of his death, proclaim the character of the man who, when living, was a sensualist to the fullest extent of the term.

Emblematic of Christian's extravagance, are a saddle and horse trappings presented by him to his eldest son on his marriage-day — that prince who did not live to succeed to his father's throne. This horse furniture is of the most

costly description, being one mass of pearls and precious stones, even to the minutest details; it was made in Paris, and as the order was probably unlimited, so the maker has spared neither diamonds nor other gems, that the most gorgeous effect might be produced. It is similar to those saddles and trappings, now in the arsenal at Moscow, presented by the Sultan to the Empress Catherine, but under very different circumstances; the former being the token of a father's affection; while the latter were given as emblems of peace between Turkey and Russia, wherein the treaties laid down solemnly that the two nations were *eternally*, and *for ever*, united by indissoluble ties of friendship,—frail protestations, which continued so long only as interest dictated.

Here are cups, goblets, and drinking-horns innumerable, of gold, and silver inlaid with the choicest stones, and of devices varied, often quaint. Thus, one is in the form of an equestrian statue, from which it was necessary to remove the horse's head before the precious contents could be quaffed. This singular drinking-cup, of silver gilt, was a present from the city of Hamburgh, and is of dimensions sufficiently great to satisfy the desires of the most lusty sons of Bacchus,—even in those days, when men's capacities for imbibing the juice of the grape were not limited to a small amount,—for it stands two feet in height. Its form also proves how hard run the good Hamburghers must have been for a new pattern, when they chose such a shape for a drinking-vessel.

Another "horn" has become rather celebrated; it represents, in silver, the German castle architecture of the fifteenth century, and is as remarkable for minuteness and

delicacy of detail as for exquisite finish or beauty of design. It is said to have been made for Christian I., in commemoration of a visit to Germany, where he had gone in the character of umpire between the Emperor Frederic III. and Charles the Bold of Burgundy. The workmanship would have been no disgrace to Benvenuto Cellini, although it dates more than fifty years before the birth of the celebrated but eccentric Italian.

In one room is a noble silver fountain, six feet high, for throwing up perfumed water—a fitting shower wherewith to sprinkle Diana and her lovely nymphs below, represented in the act of bathing. In other apartments are rich jewellery and choice objects of "vertu"; swords with handles and scabbards beautifully wrought and inlaid with gems of value; a crucifix with a magnificent aqua marine; numerous orders which decorated the breasts of kings; a splendid silver cabinet; the sword of Charles XII. of Sweden, but how obtained becomes a question; the horns of a deer, and the gun which shot it, retained as memorials of the sporting taste of Christian VI.'s queen, who prided herself on being a good shot; and a lovely vine, each bunch of grapes whereon is composed of an enormous emerald;—these and a thousand other objects are there to interest and instruct.

The Knights' Hall is a fine apartment, with tables, chairs, fire dogs, and screen, four candelabra, each eight feet high, and twelve of four feet, the whole in solid silver, and of enormous value. It would be vain to attempt any particular description of the contents of this castle, even were the reader desirous of knowing more about them. They leave an impression upon one's mind not altogether

agreeable, for they tell a tale of fallen greatness; they show that Denmark was once what she no longer is, and they silently reveal how misspent the treasures of the country often were, and how the kings surrounded themselves with unproductive wealth, while they screwed the last dollar out of the poorer classes. One turns with such thoughts as these to examine with greater pleasure a choice and well-arranged cabinet of coins in the same edifice.

The Royal Museum is another large building devoted to antique works of art, choice relics connected with the Roman Catholic worship, beautiful armour of the chivalric ages, and similar drinking-cups, horns, and goblets to those seen in Rosenborg Castle. Room after room, story after story, are full of these objects, many of them unique and precious specimens of genius, others not only interesting from their beauty and skilful workmanship, but from their exciting historical associations. Tycho Brahé's watch, for instance, made in 1597, and probably used by him while making those observations which led to discoveries, now written in the everlasting page of philosophic truth, but unknown to the world until demonstrated by that great astronomer, whose conclusions were perhaps in no small degree influenced by this little instrument, now regarded only as a curious specimen of the early art of watch-making. Here are two heads of which the bodies are amongst the Elgin marbles in the British Museum. It is singular that no steps have been taken by the curators to obtain these heads, by exchanging for them other objects of which they have duplicates.

One of the drinking-cups well illustrates the propensity for Bacchanalian indulgence of the age when it

was made. It is in silver-gilt, of the shape and size of a small bucket, and marked inside with graduated lines to show the depth of each draught; the greatest honour being due to him who could take the deepest drink. There are intaglios and cameos, Florentine mosaics and inlaid steel, jewelled caskets and ivory carvings, with a thousand other things, which, when regarded in the whole, appear but a heterogeneous mass of treasures, but when examined in detail are found so admirably arranged as to form a consecutive history of art. This one museum alone does infinite credit to the country.

We have lingered too long amidst the attractions of palaces: our portmanteaus are off, and we stand upon the quay ready to embark on an excursion through the islands of Denmark. The steam is up, but ere we step on board the vessel, an unusual scene awaits us. Hundreds of people are assembled on the wharf to take leave of our fellow-passengers, who consist of officers and soldiers embarking for Fredericia to engage in the coming struggle between their country and the Duchies.

„ It was painful to witness the parting adieus of sons with mothers, of fathers with daughters, of husbands with wives, of brothers with sisters, and of many a stalwart youth with gentle maiden. The natural language of grief might there be read in a dozen forms; demonstrations of affection could there be recognised by as many signs, through the varid expressions of the faces,—indices which never deceive at moments such as those. Wild but piercing grief, deep and touching sorrow, silent, tearless agony, ardent love, soft affection, and the tenderest sentiments were in turn displayed; while many a tear rolled

down the cheek of beauty, and many a manly heart struggled to conceal the emotion which it had not power to conquer. How many of those women returned to their solitary homes with blankness in their hearts! How many had said farewell for ever to those with whom was twined the happiness of their lives!

But we are afloat on the waters of the Baltic; a loud cheer comes from the men on the shore; white handkerchiefs are waved by the fair; Copenhagen is gradually shutting out from our sight; the last glimpse of her towers and steeples is taken, and we are fairly away on our voyage. The evening is fine, but the scenery on the eastern coast of Zealand offers few attractions, and the first object to awaken our interest is the little Isle of Huen, dimly seen by the soft twilight. We think of poor Tycho Brahé, for this was his much loved island home, where, withdrawn from distracting influences, he gave himself up to the absorbing study of those laws which regulate the movements of the universe; yet he was allowed to enjoy in peace neither his quiet pursuits nor his isolated retreat. The shafts of envy penetrate every barrier; and Tycho's enemies being sufficiently powerful to gain the King's ear, Christian IV. first withdrew his revenues, and then treated him with such contumely and insult, that the astronomer was compelled to seek in exile an asylum which no longer existed in his own country. He retired to Prague, where, being better appreciated by the Emperor Rodolph, he was received with distinction and honour. He died there in 1601.

The moon is up; bright and clear in a cloudless sky she throws her white light upon the towers, round and

square, of Cronsberg Castle. Fine at all times, there is now something passing picturesque in this stately sentinel of the Sound, which excites our deepest admiration; more so, perhaps, because we have lately seen so many edifices that produced no similar emotion. Solid and imposing as we know the structure to be, it appears, on the edge of the water, like a fairy castle rising from a broad expanse of liquid silver. The light reflected from its walls and turrets is so soft, so pure, and yet so strong — the shades so deep, so mysterious, and yet so well defined — the variety so great, so marked, and yet so full of harmony — the perspective so clear, so bold, and yet so dreamy — that we gaze upon it with a kind of pleasure almost mounting up to rapture.

Our thoughts, saddened by the scene witnessed on the quay of Copenhagen, have not yet regained their usual tone, and they fly to the unfortunate Caroline Matilda. It is an oft-told tale, but not for that less touching; how this poor princess,—the sister of England's Monarch, George III., and at a tender age the wife of Denmark's imbecile king, Christian VII.,—became the victim to a base intrigue of the ambitious Julia Maria, her husband's stepmother. How this young, perhaps indiscreet, but guiltless thing, was rudely torn from her chamber, but half-clothed, in spite of tears, entreaties, and of struggles, in the middle of a northern winter's night, and thus conveyed for miles, to be thrown into a dungeon of yon castle. How an infant daughter, but a few weeks old, came with her to that gloomy prison, there to share in griefs and sufferings which it could not understand. How that child of sorrow became the solace of the mother's heart, well nigh crushed

by the heavy blow that had been struck at,—what to woman is most precious,—her reputation. How months rolled on, and when the infant had begun to show most strongly those signs of recognition and of preference so thrilling to maternal feelings, the order came that they must separate; the one for the Castle of Zell as an exiled Queen, the other to remain amongst the very enemies who had caused her mother's downfall. How this much injured woman's distraction found no bounds when parting from her babe, and that land which still contained the infant prince, her son. And how, in banishment and solitude for three long years she pined, and died even then but in the dawn of womanhood.

CHAP. IX.

JUTLAND.—FREDERICIA.—A DISAGREEABLE DRIVE TO VEILE.—CONTESTS WITH THE CHURCH OF ROME.—AN IMAGINATIVE POSTBOY.—COLDING AND SNOGHOI.—A PLEASING WELCOME.—WINNING SCENERY AND GENTLE THOUGHTS.—A SUDDEN SQUALL AND NARROW ESCAPE.

THE morning broke clear and fine; the sun just peeped above the horizon as we reached the vessel's deck. None of the passengers had yet left their berths, which a calm night had allowed them tranquilly to enjoy. We were already passing the small but fertile island of Samsoe, containing between six and seven thousand inhabitants. Behind us stretched as far as the eye could reach, the waters of the Cattegat, and on the left was seen the northern coast of Funen, broken by the fiord of Odense, while to the west could be traced the low indented shores of Jutland. As we advanced, fresh islands opened, but no hills or mountains rose to vary much the scenery, which though agreeable was anything but striking. At length we entered the contracted channel, and soon reached Fredericia, our destination.

Before leaving the steam-packet we must not omit paying a deserved tribute to the comfort and cleanliness we found on board. The vessel was tastefully fitted up, and even provided with a handsome piano; this, however,

remained untouched, although there were many fair Danish lady passengers. We know not whether it be usual for them to play under such circumstances, but it may fairly be presumed that an instrument of this kind would not be placed in the cabin of a steamer merely for the sake of ornament.

Fredericia is built on a point of land on the eastern coast of Jutland, projecting into the narrowest part of the Little Belt, while a few miles distant to the south another small peninsula stretches from the north-western shore of Funen, so that the town appears to stand upon a lake. The water of the port is shallow, and consequently it has never become important for its commerce, but manufactures of various kinds have been long established in the town, although they have taken no great extension. The commanding position of Fredericia makes it the key of the Little Belt, to which it stands in the same relation as Cronsberg Castle does to the Sound; for here all dues are paid by vessels taking this passage into the Baltic.

It is a strongly fortified place, and had in this respect been put to the test shortly before our arrival, from a siege and bombardment by the allied German and Schleswig-Holstein troops; during which time the Danes had maintained their reputation of good and brave soldiers, not only by valiantly defending the town, but by a successful sortie, in which they had behaved most gallantly. The place, however, had suffered much in the bombardment, many of the houses, and other buildings, having been destroyed; but the work of restoration had already commenced, and new edifices were to be seen on every hand; some completed, others in progress.

This was not the first time that Fredericia had undergone a siege. Frederic III. having been rash enough to provoke Charles Gustavus of Sweden, the latter Monarch appeared suddenly in, and marched conqueringly through, Holstein and Schleswig, entered Jutland, and left his General, Wrangel, to deal with Fredericia, who soon took it by assault; although, at that time, it was considered one of the strongest places in the north of Europe. Its possession enabled Charles Gustavus to pass the Belts on the ice the following winter.

We found it swarming with troops; the fortifications were being put in order, extended, and strengthened, while every preparation was making to resist another attack, which was expected by the garrison on the re-opening of hostilities. The Danes displayed great energy, for every man seemed to feel that on the result of this struggle depended, not only a momentary triumph of one party over another, but the very existence of Denmark as a kingdom; and it certainly was a glorious thing to see this little nation, with the spirit of a lion, standing out firmly and undauntedly against the forces of the German Empire, united with Schleswig-Holstein. There was a general feeling amongst the people, and even a strong belief, that if England chose to act with diplomatic vigour in their cause, the whole affair could be speedily settled. We know not upon what ground this sentiment was based, but of its existence there can be no doubt: and, connected with it, was the earnest desire that assistance should come from her, rather than from any other quarter.

After examining the town, which derives its principal interest from the strong fortifications that surround it, we

prepared to take an excursion in Jutland. From the unusual movement now going on we could not obtain a *Viener-vogne*, the better class of carriage for travelling by extra post, so we were obliged to content ourselves with a *Holsteins-vogne*, which is nothing more than a long open cart on four wheels, lightly made, but, in this instance, without springs. There are two or three seats, attached by their ends with leather straps to the sides of the vehicle, thus giving a little spring, which renders this mode of travelling rather more endurable than it would otherwise be. The trembling of the boards whereon the feet are placed, is not however agreeable, for it very soon produces that sensation in the legs known popularly as being "asleep."

On issuing from the town, we found the country in its neighbourhood flat and uninteresting, without trees or shrubs of any kind to relieve the tameness. A solitary mound of large size was the most conspicuous object—the burial-place of the Germans and Schleswig-Holsteiners who had been killed when the Danes made their gallant sortie, and drove the enemy, with great slaughter, from the batteries they had raised.

Our route first lay through open country, but as we proceeded it became more wooded and undulating, though we were unable to see or enjoy the picturesque points of view which it probably presented, for the dust rose in one continued, dense, and suffocating mass. There was not a breath of air to afford us a moment's relief; the day was extremely hot and sultry, and having no shelter in our vehicle from the direct rays of the sun,—excepting that afforded by the everlasting cloud which enveloped us,—we were not a little pleased to arrive at Veile.

This town is most agreeably situated in a charming valley, on the shores of a fiord, hemmed in on every side by luxuriantly wooded hills of beech and oak, which here flourish,—the former especially,—in great perfection, and display a richness of foliage unsurpassed in any country of the world.

The church is an ancient Gothic edifice, in brick, evidently of the eleventh or twelfth century; but possessing nothing extraordinary, either externally or internally.

Veile was early a place of importance, and has several interesting historical events connected with its name. Here the uncompromising and ambitious priest, Jacob Erlandsen, Archbishop of Lund, consummated his opposition to Christopher I., by convoking a council, at which it was decided, that if any Bishop were taken or injured by orders of the King, divine service should be stopped, and the whole country laid under interdict, unless he gave satisfaction within a prescribed period. The confirmation of this decree was solicited and obtained from the Pope in 1257. A partial reconciliation subsequently took place between Christopher and Erlandsen, but it was of short duration, and an obnoxious act of the latter led the Monarch to have him seized, with several other Church dignitaries, and thrown into prison. The bishops of Roeskilde and Lund however escaped, put into execution the act of the Council of Veile, and the nation was laid under interdict. The people murmured openly against the King, some nobles began to arm in support of the Church, and civil war was on the eve of breaking out, when Christopher suddenly died, in 1259, not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned.

This antagonism between the Monarch and Church still continued under Eric VII., son of Christopher, and a permanent reconciliation did not take place until 1274, the kingdom having been under interdict, and from time to time deluged with blood, during seventeen years. But Eric was not of a conciliatory character, and after a reign of perpetual troubles, some of them handed down by his predecessor, others entailed upon himself, he was murdered while asleep in the village of Finderup, in Jutland, by the blow of a mace, the assassin being instigated by Stig, Count of Halland, of whom Eric had made a mortal enemy by injuries of an outrageous nature.

The isolated contest between Christopher and Erlandsen, was only an expressive example of the struggle that generally existed in Europe, between the temporal and spiritual powers, in the thirteenth century, and which terminated in giving to the latter an immense ascendency.

United, firm, persevering, and ambitious, — possessing nearly all the learning of the age, — exercising great influence over the superstitious feelings of the people, — keeping alive the jealousies of the nobles, — sowing dissension between Kings, — now arousing the passions of one class, now exciting the fanaticism of another, — the Church was always enabled to take her opponents at a disadvantage, and generally to triumph. In local disagreements, even when the Pope decided in favour of princes against the clergy, which was often done, the spiritual head only strengthened his own powers; for the habit of appealing to Rome by royalty being thus encouraged, was soon engendered and confirmed. The Popes delayed not long in arrogating to themselves the right of inter-

fering in secular affairs, of exercising an authority over Monarchs, and of interposing between them and their subjects.

The ordonnance of the Council of Veile was, until the Reformation, regarded by the Church in Denmark as an instrument ever at command when required, and it exercised considerable influence over the Sovereigns in their relations with the clergy during three centuries.

As there was not sufficient attraction to keep us long in Veile, we determined on proceeding to Colding the same afternoon, a distance of seventeen miles. Having exchanged our *Holsteins-vogne* for another with springs—a great improvement,—we started afresh, but this time on the main road, where we were free from the dust which had well nigh suffocated us on the cross one of the morning.

We were sorry to turn south, for our inclinations would have led us to trace the whole of the eastern coast of Jutland, with its sloping and fertile shores, its beautiful forests and fiords; or to have traversed that wild and desolate heath which occupies the centre of the peninsula, and have made acquaintance with the gipsy tribes who there live,—and so have done for ages,—encircled by other races, without mixing or intermarrying with them; who cling tenaciously and affectionately to the laws that have governed them generation after generation, and to the wandering, dissolute habits by which they are distinguished in every part of the world. The time allotted to our tour in Denmark, however, obliged us to forego a trip so full of interest.

The road between Veile and Colding—now open, undulating, fertile, and well cultivated, now leading through

forests, so thick and rich in foliage, that scarce a sun's ray penetrated to illumine the earth beneath,—presented a pleasing variety of landscape and woodland scenery.

Our post-boy was an amusing character. About his dress, even, there was something droll, although he wore the same costume as most of his class, which resembled the cast-off garments of a British soldier; the coat being scarlet, with yellow facings—the royal post livery of Denmark. Wit and ideality seemed the predominant points of the lad's character. The former displayed itself by a fixed grin, the rigid comicality of which no ordinary emotion had power to relax, while the latter was developed in a practical form. Scarcely had we reached the outskirts of the town, when, to our surprise, this unsophisticated youth began deliberately to fill his pipe. Now, as we had no idea of submitting, for three hours, in an open vehicle, to the questionable odour of bad tobacco, we prepared to cut his pleasure short. Interference was, however, unnecessary; for imagination supplied the place of fire, and the process of smoking was scientifically pursued through the unlit pipe, which was occasionally withdrawn, that an ideal puff of smoke might be sent from those lips whereon the broad grin always remained.

It is usual when travelling in Denmark to stop at the end of every seven or eight miles to bait the horses, which, instead of occupying five or ten minutes, as elsewhere, is here a matter of so much importance, that at least half an hour is consumed. In the halt made to-day, the animals were not obliged to go through the tedious operation of grinding corn, but were supplied with an adequate quantity of bread, which they appeared much to enjoy. Bucket

after bucket of water was then given, until we began to fancy that either the English system must be erroneous, or that some terrible accident would happen to the quadrupeds before we could reach our destination. All, however, was accomplished in safety.

Colding, like Veile, was in the middle ages a town of greater importance than at present; situated on the borders of Jutland and Schleswig, it was constantly exposed to dangers incident to a perpetual state of war between the princes of the latter country and Denmark. Eric VII. fortified it in 1358, during the religious troubles of the kingdom, Jutland at one time being the only province which remained faithful to his cause. At this period a fine castle was erected, which afterwards became the favourite residence of several Danish monarchs. It remained in good order until the commencement of this century, when it was accidentally burnt down during the Spanish occupation. We inspected the ruins, and found them extensive. The structure must have proved a formidable barrier in its day to any hostile attempts on Jutland from the south.

It was at Colding that the tyrant Christian II. met his uncle the Duke Frederic and many Holstein nobles in 1522, where he had summoned them to enforce homage; in order more effectually to do which, he caused gibbets to be erected in the streets, hoping by such means to act on their fears. So brutal and outrageous a proceeding, however, aroused a feeling of deep and permanent indignation, and assisted in hastening that downfal, for which his crimes and impolitic conduct had already prepared the way. Toward the end of the same year the nobles solemnly

withdrew their allegiance from Christian, and solicited his uncle Frederic to accept the throne.

The former again flew to Colding, there met the few members of the aristocracy still favourable to his cause, and after deliberating with them, proposed meeting the disaffected and other nobles in council, at the same time promising to regulate his actions by their decision; but the breach was now irreparable; beside which, the character of Christian was too well known to be trusted, and his invitation was therefore disregarded. On finding all efforts at conciliation useless, he passed into Funen, thence to Zealand, and shortly after ignominiously fled from the country, taking with him all the crown jewels and other articles of value from Copenhagen, accompanied by his family, and those two creatures Sigebrit and Slagheck, who had in no small degree contributed to his overthrow.

Colding is a flourishing little town, conveniently situated for commercial affairs, standing on a small river, but a short distance from its *embouchure* into a fine fiord communicating with the Little Belt. Its exports principally consist of grain. The hotel where we remained for the night was clean, and the people were civil, but these are the only praises we can bestow, as the accommodation was bad, and the feeding worse.

Early next morning we again took carriage for Snoghoi. The route lay along the northern side of the fiord, through a series of hills, higher than are generally found in Jutland; clothed with beautiful woods, interspersed with villages, and enlivened by occasional peeps of the bay, now glittering from the morning sun's reflected rays of as lovely a day as ever elated traveller's spirits. On approaching our

destination, the Little Belt opened to view, broken into two channels by a small island at the mouth of the fiord; while the north-western shore of Funen, rising in gentle and verdant slopes from the water's edge, stretched far away, and formed an appropriate background to an interesting scene.

Snoghoi is a village of little importance, being principally occupied by fishermen, who did well also as ferrymen, before the establishment of steamers rendered the passage of the Little Belt by Aarösund and Assens at all times a matter of certainty; travellers formerly preferring the longer route by land, rather than run the risk of detention from adverse winds.

Our trip in Jutland, though short, was gratifying. The country we traversed was pleasing, the people appeared to be prosperous, and the cultivation was tolerably good. The inhabitants are generally tall, muscular, and well made, of vigorous constitutions and industrious habits. Light hair and blue eyes are almost universal; the women are remarkable for their fair, clear complexions, and they are mild, civil, and obliging in manner.

Jutland has reaped some advantages from the outbreak in the Duchies; a direct communication by steam having been established between its eastern ports and England, for the shipment of cattle,—a trade previously in the hands of the Schleswig-Holsteiners.

Having hired a small light boat, we embarked to cross the Little Belt, here contracted into a channel so narrow as to resemble a river in every respect. The waters of the Baltic sweep with great rapidity through this outlet, which, from its tortuous course, requires much care in

navigating. We accomplished the passage between Snoghoi and Middelfurt with a fair wind in about twenty minutes, and took an extra post carriage immediately to continue our journey, for there was nothing whatever in the latter town to detain us.

We had already passed through the island of Funen from west to east, and now intended traversing it from north to south. The highest point of the road commands a fine and extensive view; villages, church spires, country houses, cultivated fields, and rich woods diversify the landscape, and produce scenery which charms from its quiet unobtrusive beauty rather than from any bold or striking features. There are no mountains; but the country is cut into agreeable valleys by low hills, now connected, now isolated, and often crowned with tufts of trees.

The soil of Funen, being very rich, is capable of growing a great variety of grain and other vegetable productions; while the climate is remarkably mild for the latitude. These advantages, combined with its attractive aspect, early made it a favourite resort of the rich and noble, who there built "châteaux," and established extensive farms. To these circumstances, also, it probably owed the honour of having contained the first capital of the Danish kingdom, and of being the earliest seat of civilization in that country.

We reached Odense in the afternoon, and were received at the hotel with a good-natured welcome from all the people of the establishment, which afforded us much pleasure, — a sensation that every traveller probably experiences on returning to a place under similar circumstances; for the more he may be accustomed to wander out of the

beaten track, — to go from town to town, unknown, and often gaped at as a rare and curious species of animal,— the deeper does he appreciate a kind recognition with the simplest words of welcome, although they come but from the landlord and servants of a country inn.

Odense is decidedly the liveliest place in Denmark after Copenhagen. Situated near the extremity of a beautiful fiord that stretches from the north towards the middle of the island, and communicating with it by a canal and navigable river,—being on the main road between the capital and the continent,—the residence of the Governor, the seat of a Bishopric, and the centre of commerce, it is a flourishing and prosperous town. The houses are generally well built, the situation of the place is agreeable, and the environs are delightful.

There are manufactories on a small scale, and as the water of the river is peculiarly adapted for the preparation of leather, tanning is carried on to such an extent as to have become an important branch of industry. We were made very comfortable at the hotel; everything was excessively clean, but as Dansk was the only language spoken by the servants, our efforts to establish a perfect understanding with them, were sometimes ludicrous enough. Thus, when sixteen eggs were brought for the breakfast of two individuals, and we fancied we had succeeded in making the waiting girl comprehend by divers and sundry gestures, that of these, twelve were superfluous, we were not a little astonished to see the fresh arrival, but a few minutes after, of a dozen more. Not that there was any surprise on the maiden's part at the extent of the imagined order, for she appeared to take it quite as a matter of course; we therefore

concluded that the Danes' capacity for eggs must be unusually large.

The appearance of the country, on the route we next took, between Odense and Svendborg, varies but slightly from the northern part of the island, agriculture being everywhere well conducted. The latter town is picturesquely situated on the shore of a narrow strait which separates Funen from the little Island of Taaseng. Here it was that Charles Gustavus of Sweden commenced with his army the perilous passage of the Great Belt on the ice.

We crossed in a small row-boat, and landed at Vindeby, whence we took the extra post, and ere long found ourselves amidst the fairest specimen of miniature rural scenery that could be gazed upon. Vegetation of the most luxuriant growth gave charms to what appeared a series of lovely gardens. Nature was here exuberant of beauty in that soft and winning form which steals around the heart, and takes it captive ere reason has stepped in to analyse the feeling. The wild and craggy mountain, the roaring cataract, the stupendous rock, the overhanging precipice, the mighty wave that breaks upon the shore, excite our wonder, and awe the mind to painful admiration; the whole brain is mastered by the one impression; all other thoughts are checked, for the sublime triumphantly takes dominion over the enraptured soul. But the sentiments aroused by such scenes as those of Taaseng are of another kind: they lull the passions, awaken the softer feelings of our nature, carry the fancy to the peasant's peaceful hearth, and call forth our sympathies for those whose lot it is to toil and struggle, even where the gifts of Providence are most bountiful.

The little villages were buried in trees and flowers; but if vegetable life was redundant, there existed few signs of animated nature, the profound silence being only broken by the occasional songs of birds. Disappointed at not seeing the inhabitants, on arriving at the second hamlet we took an effectual method of drawing them to their cottage doors by sounding the post-boy's horn. Many a comely matron then appeared, with rosy children clustering round her,—groups of rustic beauty to be depicted by the pencil's touch alone.

We passed close to Waldemar's Castle, a plain uninteresting building, the residence of the "Lord of the Isle," descended from the celebrated Admiral Juel, who raised the reputation of the Danish navy to its highest pitch of glory. Juel commenced his profession in the Dutch service under Van Tromp and De Ruiter, and first distinguished himself in his native country at the second siege of Copenhagen by Charles Gustavus of Sweden, in 1659; but it was in the war with Charles XI. that he attained his highest renown, by taking the Isle of Gothland in April, and gaining a complete victory over the Swedish fleet in June, 1676: by defeating the division under Sjöblad the following year, and taking that Admiral prisoner; while shortly after, his success was still more triumphant over Admiral Horn, who lost twenty-two Swedish ships in an action fought with Juel in Kiöge Bay.

The distance from Vindeby to the opposite side of the island is about six miles, and we do not remember ever having had a more enjoyable drive; nor, of its size, can we recal so enviable a domain as this little Isle of Taaseng. It is true we had one of those bright days which, while it

furnished the light most suitable for giving effect to such scenery, produced that buoyancy of spirits best calculated to create its full appreciation. Five miles an hour under such circumstances seemed quite railroad speed, and we were not a little sorry when we reached Vemmencæs, where we embarked to cross another ferry of three miles to the Island of Langeland.

One sturdy fisherman took charge of us in his small boat, which, as the weather was fine on starting, seemed exactly the craft best suited to perform the passage. When about half way over, however, we perceived a dense black cloud rising slowly above the island of our destination. Its aspect was ominous, and even our weather-beaten boatman cast towards it from time to time an anxious glance. Still we hoped to escape the coming storm by dint of hard rowing. Taking an oar, we "gave way" with all our vigour, and as we approached the shore, hope lent fresh power to our exertions; a little breeze from the west sprang up to favour us, and the tiny sail was set. The strand was within a cable's length, we redoubled our efforts, but without avail, for the squall was on us, and by the first gust our boat, thrown "gunwales under," was only saved from turning over by the fisherman quickly casting off the "sheet." Now the lightning flashed and the thunder roared "sublimely terrible;" the sea rose suddenly, and dashed over us; the heavens seemed to have opened their flood-gates, for the water fell, not in drops, but as a deluge, and we experienced a storm such as we had never before encountered out of the tropics.

Our ardour was so damped by the drenching we had received, and the rain still continuing to pour in torrents,

we determined on remaining for the night at Rudkiöbing, where we found the little inn perfectly clean. The choice of diet at these small Danish towns, out of the usual route of travellers, is not great; there is always veal, which is generally well cooked, and served up in the shape of cutlets; but any other kind of meat is seldom to be found. Eggs are everywhere abundant, and fowls can be had by choosing them in the poultry yard. The charges are exceedingly moderate, and genuine kind-hearted civility is never wanting, while the traveller has seldom to complain of the absence of propriety and cleanliness. Thus much for those of our readers who may be inclined to follow our footsteps.

CHAP. X.

LANGELAND ISLAND. — AN AMBITIOUS NOBLE. — ISLES OF LAALAND AND FALSTER. — FARMING IN FALSTER.—A SLEEPY HOUSEHOLD. — THE TWO GRACES. — AGRICULTURE IN DENMARK. — ABSENCE OF POVERTY. — GENERAL SOBRIETY. — ARBITRATION COURTS.

LANGELAND is about thirty-four miles long, while it averages from five to eight in width. The land is generally more elevated than in the other Danish islands, and the soil good. The exports, consisting principally of grain, cattle, skins, wax, and honey, are considerable. The little town of Rudkiöbing is the principal port for shipping the surplus produce, and during the summer months becomes, in a small way, quite an active place of business.

At 7 A.M. we were again *en route*. A short drive brought us to the castle of Tranekiœr, built upon an eminence, which we ascended, and thence obtained a fine and pleasing view over the greater part of the island, belonging, together with the castle, to the Counts of Ahlefeldt Lauervig, and being one of the most important domains of Denmark. The building is large but plain; the stables, however, are particularly good. As we traversed only the narrow part of Langeland, an hour and a half brought us to Spodsbierg, on the eastern side of the Island, whence we took boat, and with a fair wind crossed the ferry of ten miles in less than two hours to the Isle of Laaland.

On landing at Taars, a fishing-village only, we found crowds of men who had just quitted their various occupations, and were proceeding to join the army. Indeed, we encountered the same spectacle everywhere on this tour: hundreds were to be seen in carts or walking, making their way to the nearest towns, which generally presented an appearance of life and bustle from this circumstance. They were all respectably-dressed, well-conducted men, and formed a striking contrast to the tribe of ragamuffins one often sees decked out with a few tawdry pieces of ribbon, following the recruiting-sergeant in England.

Laaland is upwards of thirty miles long, and about half that width. It is generally flat, and so low in parts as to be frequently inundated by the sea; but it possesses a soil of remarkable fertility, and in the variety of its vegetable productions surpasses all the other islands of Denmark. Within its precincts are demesnes that give titles to three barons and as many counts, which were established as fiefs of the crown by Christian V. There are on the island five towns, of which Marieboe, where we arrived in the afternoon, is the second in importance, the place being tolerably well built, on the border of a fine lake.

An abbey, founded here in the fifteenth century, had an existence but of short duration, for it was suppressed in 1537 by Christian III., while its lands and revenues were united to the crown. At this period all Church property was confiscated in Denmark, and the Lutheran form of worship permanently established. The Bishops were arrested, thrown into prison, and ecclesiastical superiors of the reformed faith, called superintendents, appointed to the vacant sees; but the title of Bishop was subsequently

restored. The tithes were divided between the King, the feudal chiefs, and the parish ministers, in equal parts. By this act an immense accession of revenue accrued to the crown, yet very little of the property was applied by Christian to institutions in any way connected with religion or charity: a few hospitals, some educational establishments, and a certain amount of land devoted to such of the reformed clergy as distinguished themselves by their learning or piety, were but scanty returns for the enormous wealth thus obtained. We cannot, therefore, regard Christian III. as a sincere reformer: religion, too often with Monarchs the mere pretext for covering selfish designs, was in his case but a cloak to hide inordinate acquisitiveness.

The abbey church still exists; we found both the exterior and interior plain enough, and could ascertain nothing sufficiently interesting about the structure, to furnish those associations which often make up for the absence of beauty in architecture. Nor would the cathedral, which stands close to the town, have offered any particular attractions, had it not contained the tomb of Eleanore Christine, the daughter of Christian IV. by Christina Monk, his second wife, but not his queen,—a lady of noble though not of royal blood. Eleanore was married to Corfitz Ulfeld, a Danish noble, who was raised by her father to a post of the highest dignity in the state. Ambitious, haughty, and talented, it was believed that Ulfeld even aspired to the throne of Denmark; at all events, he opposed the election of Frederic III., son of Christian by his first wife and Queen. Frederic, therefore, entertained a bitter hatred for Ulfeld and Eleanore, as he did for his other half-sisters and

their husbands, and he accordingly inflicted every kind of insult and persecution upon them, which terminated in the banishment of some, and the self-imposed exile of the rest. Rapacity is said to have influenced this monarch in no slight degree to these cruel acts, for the estates and revenues of the exiles fell to him. Ulfeld fled to Sweden, where he obtained the protection of Queen Christina, and, on her abdication, of Charles Gustavus, into whose service he entered, and became a traitor to his country, by giving information whereby the Swedish King was enabled to attack Denmark with success.

The passage of the Belts was followed by the humiliation of Frederic, and by Ulfeld's permission to return to Denmark, with the restoration of his estates. But the enmity of the former, although for a time concealed, never ceased; and when Ulfeld in declining health sought a change abroad, charges were brought against him in his absence. He was found guilty, condemned to be quartered for high treason, and a large sum offered for his body, dead or alive. Thus hunted from place to place with his family, he soon sank under his sufferings, and died in Germany. But a more melancholy fate awaited poor Eleanore, who, being betrayed in England, fell into the hands of Danish spies, was carried back to her country, and — with revolting cruelty — thrust by her brother into a narrow, dark, and loathsome dungeon, where she lingered out for three-and-twenty years a life of agonised wretchedness.

From the general flatness of the country, there is scarcely any striking scenery in Laaland; but the island possesses that beauty which is inseparable from exuberant vegetation and an abundance of foliage. The forests of

beech and oak are not only majestic, but of great value, these noble trees here attaining perfection. The latter are a source of wealth also, from yielding an immense quantity of acorns, on which great numbers of pigs are fattened. Wild fowl are particularly plentiful on the low marshy coasts of this island, and it abounds in other game.

We left Rudkiöbing soon after the sun of another lovely day had risen — the true time for enjoying sylvan scenes like these. All nature seemed decked in gayest smiles, and the very birds warbled forth their sweetest notes as if to welcome the advent of the morn. We met many a husbandman, with peace in his heart and contentment in his face, wending his way to quiet labour; we passed others too, who, scarce four-and-twenty hours before, had in the same pursuits found equal happiness, but now were on their road to join the din and danger, the strife and struggle, of the battle-field. Strange world of contrasts! One moment are its children gliding gently down the smooth stream of sequestered life — the next sees them tossed upon a troubled sea of stormy passions. One moment all-absorbed in raising that wherewith to support the existence of their fellow-men — the next, devising means whereby most effectually to destroy them.

The little town of Saxkiöbing was soon reached, at which we stopped only to peep into the unassuming church, and then continued our route to Sundbye, where a boat was at once engaged to take us across the narrow but deep channel that separates Laaland from Falster.

We landed at Nyekiöbing, in the latter island, at ten in the morning, and found it quite a bustling little place;

rivalling, as a mercantile port, Stubbkiöbing, situated on the opposite side of the island, of which these are the only two towns, and have therefore the benefit of all the commerce. Less than an hour, however, was enough to make us acquainted with the lions and the beauties of Nyekiöbing; interesting in their way, though scarcely worthy of recordation.

Having procured a guide, we started on a walk of three miles to Ourapgaard, the seat of Mr. Edward Tasdorf, to whom we had a letter of introduction. That gentleman received us with great kindness and warm-hearted hospitality. He insisted on sending for our portmanteaus, that we might remain for the night at his house; an invitation we were not reluctant to accept, for we had already heard that no person in Denmark was better capable of giving us information on the agricultural state of the country. We were not, however, prepared to find in this island, farming conducted on a scale and in a style, that would not only be creditable to, but is nowhere surpassed in, the British dominions.

Proprietor of from ten to twelve thousand acres of land, embracing nearly a third part of the island, Mr. Tasdorf farms between two and three thousand himself. Possessing abilities of no ordinary character, he has profoundly studied agriculture as a science, has gone through a course of practical education under the best farmers of England and Scotland, and is consequently enabled to combine the advantages of both systems. He had a hundred and twenty horses at work, kept three hundred and fifty cows, and a large number of sheep for this country, where sheep-farming is not extensively carried on. His farm

buildings are on a corresponding scale, are admirably arranged, and built of brick on the most approved principles. One cow-house alone affords excellent accommodation for two hundred cows, while the piggery, dairy, and poultry-house are perfect. The numerous cottages built for his labourers are planned with every convenience and comfort for their inmates, while draining and other improvements are extensively going forward. We derived much pleasure from visiting a school he had established for educating the daughters of his tenants and labourers.

In the full energy of early manhood, and possessing a large amount of philanthropy, this gentleman not only makes noble efforts to benefit those about him, but exercises by his example an influence which is, perhaps, destined to improve the state of agriculture throughout the Danish islands. His opinion is regarded with the highest respect, and he is looked up to as an authority upon all agricultural matters.

We owe Mr. Tasdorf an apology for thus dragging him from his retirement, especially as we think he would be the last person in the world to seek notoriety; but we nevertheless feel that the name of such a man deserves to be known, for he is quietly effecting an amount of good which politicians and legislators whose names figure in the world, and are handed to posterity, too often fail in accomplishing.

The fertility and productiveness of the island of Falster will bear a favourable comparison with any other part of the kingdom. It is particularly congenial to the growth of fruit-trees, which were early extensively cul-

tivated, and gained for the island the appellation of the "Orchard of Denmark." The exportation of cattle, all kinds of grain, the productions of the dairy and of husbandry, are large. Falster is well known for the excellence of its water, and has a mineral spring said to be serviceable in several maladies.

Mr. Tasdorf drove us to a well-conducted and most useful establishment, where young men undergo a regular course of theoretic and practical education in the science of agriculture; this institution was founded and endowed by a gentleman lately deceased. Thence we proceeded direct to Grönsund, and crossed the strait of the same name to the island of Möen.

Many countries have a "Switzerland." Thus there are Saxon Switzerland and Franconian Switzerland, and even in the remote district of Kazan, on the Volga, the inhabitants honour a few insignificant elevations with the name of Russian Switzerland. So the pretty little island of Möen, with its highest chalk-hills not five hundred feet above the level of the sea, stands in the same respectable relationship to Denmark, and is designated the Danish Switzerland. Any family likeness between either of these and their splendid prototype, or between each other, we have not been able to trace; nevertheless, in their respective spheres, they have their charms, some of which we experienced in our drive to-day.

After passing through one or two villages, and by a "château" called Marienburg, with its gardens and well-laid-out but ill-kept grounds, we paid a visit to one of those sepulchral mounds so often met with in Scandinavia. The peasants attach more than usual interest to this tumu-

lus, from tradition pointing it out as the resting-place of a giant and his wife, whose very names—Grön and Phane—are terrible to the minds of the juveniles of the island.

Stopping half an hour only at Steege, the principal town, we continued our journey to Liselund, a fine estate on the north-eastern coast, where we arrived about midnight. We had great difficulty, however, in gaining admittance at the farm-house which we proposed making our head-quarters for a few days. The sleep of death appeared to have fallen on the inmates, for the noise we made to arouse them was terrific. The shrillest blasts of the post-boy's horn, shouting at the top of our voices, kicking together at the door, and all these accompanied by a chorus of half a dozen savage barking dogs, failed for twenty minutes to produce the desired effect. The old farmer, however, did at last appear; we were installed in an adjoining building lately erected for the accommodation of travellers; and what was equally satisfactory, supper and wine soon made their appearance. The poor maid who brought them looked as though she had just recovered from the effects of partial strangulation. Her eyes were puffy and starting from their sockets, while altogether she seemed a queer specimen of humanity; yet we subsequently found her to be an individual of no small importance in the establishment, combining in her own proper person an unusual variety of offices, and accomplishing all their duties most creditably. To her character as head cook, chief waiter, "boots," and chambermaid, we bear our willing testimony.

Although the fare was of the simplest kind, we were made exceedingly comfortable in this out-of-the-way place. The old farmer, too, was a fund of amusement to us when

in the house. He having been in the army, had, according to his own account, attained the rank of captain, and in his younger days must have been very handsome, for he was so even now. The power he had possessed in youth of captivating the fair sex was often the theme of his conversation; but the peculiar vanity peeped from the midst of so much drollery, that its effect was irresistibly amusing.

What a lovely little island is this Möen! We wandered over every part of its northern, eastern, and south-eastern shores, and gazed with delight upon its miniature scenery. There are miles of winding paths overhung with shrubs and trees of rich and varied foliage, leading to innumerable spots whence are obtained views of winning beauty,—now of Gieddby Udde, the high eastern cape of Falster—now along the shores of Möen itself, cut into a hundred little bays and inlets—now of the distant land of Pomerania, but dimly visible—now of a romantic little valley through which meanders a murmuring stream on its way to the sea—and now of the white chalk cliffs springing abruptly from the bosom of the Baltic, sometimes round and bold, sometimes sharp and pointed, sometimes jagged and broken, but always charming.

We stood upon *Dronningestolen,* the Queen's Chair, a point of cliff four hundred feet above the level of the sea,—a locality full of legendary interest. Near this spot, says tradition, was a cave high up in the face of the klint (cliff), where formerly dwelt Jode of Upsala, a famous Klint King, who ruled over the Klints of Möen, Stevens, and Rugen. One day a person—foolhardy enough to pay him a visit—was let down into his abode by a rope;

but never again appeared. "The Klint King possesses," says the legend, "a curious chariot drawn by four jet-black horses, wherein he drives from klint to klint across the sea, that forthwith becomes agitated and troubled. In the last Swedish war, however, he brought out his great hunters, which were seen passing over the rocks, to defend the land. The peasants of Möen were in the habit of offering to Jode of Upsala the last sheaf left after housing their corn."

At Liselund art has been made harmoniously to blend with nature. Well-kept walks are cut in terraces on the steep sides of wooded heights, with bowers here and grottoes there. Now we see a monument erected *à l'amitié pure*, — now *two* Graces in bass-relief, upon a marble slab let into a block of stone, with *Attendant leur sœur* inscribed above, and *Endroit chérie de Lise* written below — the refined compliment of a husband to his wife. After three days' sojourn in this tranquil retreat, we left with reluctance, drove to Koster, and there embarked in the "Vesper" steamer.

Now we skim over the Baltic — the white cliffs of Möen first glitter, then fade, in the distance — the dark heights of "Stevens Klint" rise on our left — the Scanian shores are seen on the right — the fine bay of Kiöge opens to view — we pass between the Isles of Saltholm and Amac, once again to enter the harbour of Copenhagen.

We had been favoured with divine weather during our trip through the Islands, although the climate of Denmark is not generally celebrated for serenity of atmosphere or clearness of sky. The air is usually impregnated

with moisture in warm weather—the evaporation from the surrounding sea condensed over the land. This humidity, although disagreeable to the feelings, and particularly so in the hot summer months, is highly favourable to vegetation, and gives the foliage that rich, fresh, healthy appearance for which it is so remarkable. From the middle of May to that of June is the most agreeable time for travelling in this country, the weather being often oppressive during July and August.

The Danes have seldom marked features, but are generally well looking, with fair hair and clear blue eyes. The Islanders are not so strongly made as the Jutlanders, for although of about the same height, their frames are less compact. They are mild in disposition, steady, persevering, and industrious, but not energetic in their habits; serious, reflective, and unenthusiastic in character, they are yet endowed with an unusual amount of politeness,—not a mere conventional manner, derived from education, but that desire to oblige, which is born of the kindlier feelings of our nature, and springs alone from the generous impulses of the heart. We have never come in contact with any other people possessing this characteristic in so high a degree; and we always remember with pleasure the numerous instances where individuals went out of their way to do acts of kindness for us, that were uncalled for, and the more conspicuous when coming, as they did, from strangers on whom we had not the slightest claim. It was not alone in the rural districts that we experienced this genuine politeness of the Danes, for the capital also furnished us with many agreeable examples.

There is no country in the North of Europe which pos-

sesses within the same area a greater amount of rich productive soil than is contained in the Islands of Denmark, and we everywhere found the cultivation in a highly satisfactory state, — not always in that perfection seen at Mr. Tasdorf's, yet far more advanced than we had expected, and on the whole very creditable to the people. Consequently there is an immense surplus of the fruits of agricultural industry above the consumption of the nation; moreover, this superabundance is constantly augmenting, from fresh land being brought under the plough, and from progressive improvements in the method of cultivating. The average annual quantity of grain exported during the ten years from 1830 to 1839 inclusive, was nearly three times as great as at the beginning of the century, while in 1852 it was double what it had attained in 1839. The physical nature of the country offers great facilities for the shipment of produce; the extensive coast, numerous harbours, and fiords bringing water carriage, as it were, to the door of every farmer's homestead. The other exports of Denmark, consisting of butter, cheese, lard, salted meat, dried fish, raw and tanned hides, flax, and brandy distilled from grain, are also yearly increasing.

Every farmer in the country has one or more cows, while many have large numbers, so that cattle breeding is conducted on an extensive scale. The Schleswig Holstein graziers formerly purchased the lean cattle of the Danish farmers and fattened them for exportation on the rich pasture lands of the Duchies. The civil war put a stop to this trade, which the English graziers then took up; and a regular line of steamers was established from the western ports of Jutland direct to England. The

cattle sent by that route alone in 1851 amounted to 17,456 oxen, beside 7870 sheep and pigs. The general exportation of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs from Denmark and the Duchies in 1847 reached 105,500 head, while in 1852 it amounted to 152,300 head;—an increase of nearly fifty per cent. in five years.

The civil war not only opened a direct route from Jutland to England, but led the Danish farmers to turn their attention more closely to the subject of cattle feeding, which has resulted in a total revolution of their system. Instead of selling the oxen lean as formerly, they now resort to a more profitable plan by fattening them upon bruised corn and taking them to market in good condition. The breed of horses is excellent, and their exportation constitutes another source of profit to the nation.

From the above statistical remarks it is evident that Denmark is in a flourishing state, that her prosperity is progressive, and that the condition of every class of the people must consequently be ameliorated. The abolition of the Corn Laws, and other free trade measures of England, have principally contributed to this state of things. It is only when travelling through the agricultural countries of Europe that one fully comprehends the mighty bearings of those legislative acts, which, while they benefit our home population, carry wealth and happiness to millions, spur mankind on to fresh exertions, give impetus to industrial pursuits, and promote civilization throughout the world. To show the extensive mercantile relations existing between England and Denmark, the simple fact may be stated, that while only eighty ships annually

enter French from Danish ports, no less than four thousand vessels carry cargoes yearly from Denmark to England.

These commercial ties unite nations more closely than any treaties, and, whatever turn the affairs of Europe may take, the interests of Denmark being so intimately bound up with those of England, it is clear that she would display the most suicidal policy by opposing herself to the latter country; while it is questionable whether any Danish government could have the temerity to adopt such a course, for the sentiments of the people are in direct antagonism to a union with despotism. Not long free themselves from chains, all their sympathies are for rational liberty; and if their country be governed by an enlightened policy, small as it is territorially, it will yet rise to hold a conspicuous rank among civilized nations.

The Danes have within them the soundest elements of progress; their views of what is necessary to elevate the character and promote the happiness of a nation are enlarged. General and useful education is the foundation of their system; religious tolerance, the encouragement of arts, and the promotion of science, are its accessories. Much is, doubtless, required to perfect their new institutions, to regulate the social changes which follow political emancipation, and to arouse in them a clear perception that usage alone is not sufficient to constitute the wisdom of long-continued customs. All these, however, will in due time be accomplished. They are not an impulsive people, but good sense leads them steadily forward to sound conclusions.

One of the most pleasing features of Denmark is the

remarkable absence of poverty. We never met a beggar either in Copenhagen or during our wanderings through the Islands, nor did we ever see individuals with external evidences of great distress; and we fearlessly assert, after having visited nearly every country of Europe, that there is not one amongst them which displays so little *apparent* wretchedness and misery; while, did such really exist, we believe they could no more be concealed than the sun's rays at noon on a cloudless day.

We do not intend to convey the idea of there being *no* poor in the kingdom, for such an assumption would be preposterous. There are in all communities a certain number of aged and infirm people, with others incapable of obtaining subsistence from their labour; but, independent of these, very few able-bodied of either sex are recipients of public charity in Denmark.

The population of the country amounts only to about half that of the overgrown monster city, London. There is no scarcity of agricultural employment, while the moral and social condition of the people, and the spirit of the institutions, are opposed to supporting in idleness men who have no greater claim on public bounty than the disinclination to work.

The administration of the poor law is wise and humane, the first principle recognised being, that "society should permit none of its members to starve." To the indigent able-bodied, therefore, bread, but bread only, is given; and during the time the individual is a recipient of this, he is deprived of all civil rights, which are not restored until he has again repaid the value of the food he has received, so that the advance is rather in the shape of a loan — for the

reimbursement of which the civil rights are pledged—than in the form of charity.

This is an admirable system; first, because in cases of poverty from idleness it acts as a salutary check, and secondly,—which is of infinitely more importance,—the self-respect of the person who is necessitous from causes over which he has no control is not wounded. The feelings once humiliated, soon become callous. Nothing supports the honest labourer so much as the pride of independence, and nothing has conduced to fill the workhouses of England more than depressing the self-esteem of the poor, by making them *feel* that they are objects of charity. Once let this sentiment sink deeply into the heart of a man, and he never recovers that proud consciousness of reliance upon his own strong arm and resolute spirit alone for a livelihood. Instances proving this are unfortunately too numerous in England. Thousands of cases occur where persons having once received parish relief fly to it afterwards under circumstances of a trivial nature, which they would have previously struggled with and overcome.

The old and infirm of Denmark are supplied with all that is necessary, and the indigent passed on to their own parishes. Ten years' residence constitutes a settlement. The poor's rates are levied by the prefect, the pastor, and a body elected from and by the inhabitants of the district, and the funds thus raised are disposed of with every economy consistent with the object for which they are intended.

Another gratifying feature in the character of the Danes—and one which cannot fail to attract the observation of travellers—is their general sobriety. Neither in

towns, nor in the country, did we witness any drunkenness; we *never*, in fact, saw a drunken individual, although we constantly came in contact, during our tour through the Islands, with bodies of men collected together in the towns previously to joining the army, taking leave of friends, or just after having done so; yet under these exciting circumstances — so likely to be attended with drinking—there was an absence of inebriety highly creditable to the people, and reflecting much honour upon the nation. This sobriety was the more striking to us because we imagined the love of ardent spirits to be universal amongst the inhabitants of these northern climes.

Nor do the modern Danes owe to the habits of their ancestors, this comparative freedom from a vice still so common in other parts of Scandinavia, for, as followers of Odin, no people partook more extensively of the kind of pleasure they looked forward to enjoying in eternity than the ancient Danes; while history affirms, and relics show, that after the introduction of Christianity the national manners underwent in this respect but little modification.

We are therefore inclined to think that the advance of civilisation — favoured by the essentially agricultural occupations of the people — has produced this beneficial influence over the morals of a nation naturally steady going and sound thinking. The manufactures, as yet, are on so small a scale that the accumulation of large bodies of people in the same locality — so constantly found to engender vice and lead to drunkenness elsewhere — can scarcely be said to exist in Denmark. It remains to be seen whether an extension of the manufacturing population, will have the same demoralising effect amongst the

Danes as it usually has over the same class in other nations.

Denmark Proper is divided into nineteen districts; the affairs of each being administered by a prefect, appointed by the Government. This official is invested with extensive powers, and numerous functions. These districts, or prefectures, are subdivided into cantons, presided over by provosts, who administer justice and have the control of the police. A council elected from amongst the inhabitants of each parish regulates the parochial expenditure and conducts its business; the primary schools, the relief of the poor, and the care of the parish roads, &c., being under the immediate control of this body.

Each provincial town is governed by a provost, a chief of police, a mayor and town council elected by the people; the three principal offices being sometimes united in two, or even in one individual, in the small towns. There are also elected from the communal councils, district councils, composed of one half large, and the other half small proprietors, who meet regularly four times a year under the presidency of the prefect, to regulate the general and pecuniary affairs of the prefectures. These bodies also exercise a certain authority of decision over the acts of the communal councils.

Some admirable institutions are established throughout the country and in the towns, called *forligelses commissions*, or commissions of reconciliation, before which, parties inclined to enter civil actions at law are obliged to bring their cases; and it is only after every attempt made in them, has failed to produce an accommodation of the difference that the litigants are permitted to appear in other courts. The

decisions of the commissions of reconciliation, or courts of arbitration, are as binding as legal judgments, and through their influence many heartburnings and animosities, together with much time and money, are saved.

The administration of justice in Denmark is uniform and regular: the judges hold their appointments for life, and are immovable; they are public functionaries, owing nothing to private individuals, and are perfectly independent. They are justly held in high respect for their talents and great integrity of character.

CHAP. XI.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. — IRREGULAR RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT. — SUNDAY AMUSEMENTS. — GRAVE QUESTIONS. — THE PRESS AND LITERATURE. — UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN. — SECONDARY INSTRUCTION. — PRIMARY INSTRUCTION. — EXCRUCIATING PERAMBULATIONS.

AN almost unlimited freedom of religious worship reigns in Denmark. This extensive liberty was authorised by law in 1848, before which considerable intolerance existed. The sudden removal of pressure seems to have been followed by extraordinary expansion. Numerous sects sprang into life; conversions, perversions, and changes multiplied, causing a singularly active but irregular religious movement, which threatened to produce disorganisation of the social fabric. In this unsettled state of opinion, the advocates of the most absurd doctrines found their followers and their victims; and the tenets of Mormon menaced for a moment to shake the stability of the Lutheran worship. Innumerable proselytes to the former sect emigrated to America, where alone could be carried out to the full extent the licences permitted by their new creed.

This chaos of ideas was perhaps the necessary sequence of sudden emancipation; for the mind of man, when abruptly freed from long restraint, whether political or

religious, is incapable at once of appreciating with exactitude its own position, or discriminating with judgment as to which of the numerous roads, newly thrown open, it would be most desirable to follow. Such a change is, indeed, attended by a total revolution of thought: the Being in a state of thraldom has both hope and imagination fixed upon the *future;* released from his bonds, that future is come and gone, and his intellect then dwells alone on the present. Inexperienced and unprepared for this altered state, he wanders in the dark, ready to accept the services of any guide who presents himself, whether good or bad. Unfortunately, the latter are generally at hand, and the novice is thus led to the adoption of erroneous views.

Happily for Denmark, no opposition, either on the part of the Government or the civil authorities, interfered with this movement, so that it proceeded quietly, and without any of those signs of a violent contest which interference would not have failed to arouse. Whatever anxieties such a state of things may have produced amongst the more reflecting classes, we feel confident that the national mind on religious matters, will gradually resume the old and peaceful channel, from which for a time it has been partially diverted. The principle of a state church, however, no longer exists in the kingdom, but that of a *Dansk Folkekirke*, or people's church, has been substituted. Legislative enactments have been passed, regulating and legalising marriages and baptisms amongst those sects which are independent of the *Folkekirke.*

Religious toleration is by no means so great in the Duchies as in Denmark Proper, restrictive laws still exist-

ing in them, on liberty of worship, on proselytism, and the civil privileges of the Jews.

The Danes appear to be pretty regular church-goers, that is, comparatively with other continental nations; but in Copenhagen the duty is principally confined to attending the morning service. On a fine Sunday afternoon, nearly the whole population may be seen flocking to the suburbs, all intent on enjoying the time which this day affords them of relaxation from their weekly labour. It is then that the tea-gardens are crammed to repletion with the honest "townfolk;" it is then that the Tivoli Gardens attract the greatest numbers; then when the "merry-go-round" attains its extreme velocity, and the carriages descend the "Russian Mountain" in quickest succession.

It is really quite refreshing to see the contentment of these good people, and to observe how well pleased they are with such simple pastimes; and while watching their quiet enjoyment, one doubts the wisdom of depriving a nation of all innocent amusement, on the only day when the hard-working classes can find leisure for recreation without pecuniary loss, and consequent deprivation to their families. Nor could we help contrasting the respectable appearance, the orderly conduct, and becoming demeanour of these people, with the drunkenness which exists on the Sabbath in the large towns of England and Scotland, where such extraordinary efforts are made to prevent any departure on that day, from rules which place the most rigid restrictions on every species of amusement.

We do not pretend that the lower class of Danes are

generally sober, while numbers of English and Scotch in the same station of life are drunken, merely because the former have amusement on the Sunday, and the latter have none; for the difference of character probably depends upon a variety of causes. Neither should we recommend a Sunday ride on the "merry-go-round," or down the "Russian Mountain," as a specific for inebriety, nor put forward such a description of amusements as suitable for the Sunday recreation of the lower orders in London; and for this reason, that although such pastimes are innocent enough in themselves, yet they lead to no higher results. There is nothing in them to stimulate the reflective faculties—nothing which excites the reasoning powers—nothing that raises the thoughts to nobler or to better things; and these alone should be the aim of those who wish to draw the working and lower classes from vicious habits on the Sabbath. The way the people employ themselves on that day is of deep, aye, vital importance to England! This terrible fact is undeniable, that amongst the immoral part of the working population iniquity runs most riot on the Sunday. Then are held the drunken orgies — then vice shows out in a thousand forms — then does pernicious example exercise the widest influence.

The homes of the lower orders in large cities are generally crowded into certain localities. On working-days the population is dispersed in every direction from an early hour of the morning until the return from labour in the evening, when fatigue produces the desire for rest; but on Sunday these masses are thrown together in idleness,—the circumstance most favourable for generating vicious habits. The Sabbath in England, becomes in fact for

thousands, the greatest, and often the *only* day of temptation to active immorality.

How is this sad state of things to be remedied? These people cannot be dragged from their haunts and *forced* into church. They will not listen to the words of those sent to give them religious instruction; they still pursue their course of vice; they still disseminate the principles of demoralisation amongst their own and their neighbours' children,—ever having a fresh brood ready to receive the poison, as each successive batch is ripe to go forth on a like mission of propagating infamy.

Has a nation the right to leave her erring children thus to pursue an onward course of degradation, before she has exhausted all likely means to arrest them in their downward progress? Is a nation justified in saying, "We have asked them to go to a place of worship, and they refuse. We have sent Scripture readers amongst them, but they will not listen. All righteous efforts for rescuing them being thus at an end, we must leave them to their inevitable fate. They *will* rush headlong down the torrent of infamy: let them therefore perish."

Is there no medium point between utter degradation and exalted piety, to which the vicious may be led by means that, without being in themselves religious, still do not violate the principle of religion? Is there no channel whereby those who are not thoroughly debased may be induced to quit, on the day of greatest danger, that society which exercises such pernicious influence over them? Can no rational public attractions be allowed on the Sunday—although their tendency be to draw out the finer qualities of the mind, and, through them, to act upon the

moral feelings—because they fall short of the highest standard fixed by a religious test? Is it morally and religiously more correct on the part of a nation to permit —nay, by their enactments, directly to promote,—this Sabbath immorality, than to throw open such institutions and establishments as would attract the masses, and, while interesting them, convey a certain amount of instruction? These are grave—they are even solemn—questions!

A high authority on such matters has recently stated that nineteen twentieths of the crime in England arise from drunkenness.* Now, of all the vices, that of drunkenness is most rapidly propagated by example; of all the vices, it is the one into which men most easily fall, when they meet together without occupation. Yet, on the very day when the lower orders are placed in precisely that position best adapted to promote and encourage drunkenness, the laws, institutions, and customs of England, make war upon everything calculated to attract the people from that position so full of danger and temptation.

No reasonable being can suppose that whole communities, whose average standard of morality is low, can, by a single step, advance to high religious sentiment: yet in the absence of such a belief, there appears no hope whatever for the class of whom we write; for, being so widely severed from even the outskirts of religious feeling, they are not likely to seek assistance from religion; while every route is closed which might lead to an intermediate stage, and thus prepare their minds for the reception of those

* Mr. Corrie's evidence before the Sunday Beer Bill Committee.

higher principles, thought desirable even by the very persons who would block up the only roads through which such principles are to be attained.

We shall not here discuss the subject of what kind of Sunday amusement ought to be provided for the lower orders, for we have already deviated from our proper route much farther than we intended; still we feel that it is a question hitherto regarded through too narrow or prejudiced a medium. The subject is of much deeper importance than is usually attached to it; for inasmuch as the morals of individuals are essentially dependent on the influences brought to bear upon them in their idle moments, and as these are confined, amongst the labouring classes, almost exclusively to the Sabbath, it follows that every effort ought to be made by the nation and the Legislature, to counteract the baneful effects necessarily resulting from the accumulation of numbers on that day, under circumstances so congenial to the propagation of vicious habits.

But it is not alone on the grounds of morality, that every encouragement should be given to the lower orders of large cities to quit crowded homes, and close localities, on the Sunday. The physical would be quite as great as the moral benefit derived from such a course. Suppose a workman to possess the strongest *moral* rectitude, to be above the temptation of drunkenness and other degrading vices, yet not sufficiently *religious* to go to a place of worship, (and of such men there are thousands): supposing that from having no inducement to quit his home, situate as usual in an insalubrious locality, he should prefer remaining in it the whole of the Sabbath day, believing that such repose would most effectually invigorate his phy-

sical powers, after the wear and tear of the week's labour—that man would be the victim of an erroneous idea. He would be thus prostrating his nervous and muscular force far more than if he were all day at work.

It is a popular fallacy to suppose that mere hard work, as it generally exists in England, reduces the physical strength of a man accustomed to it. The danger is in the vile and contaminated atmosphere that the great mass of the working classes are obliged to breathe after their labour is done, and when the passive state of the system is unable to resist the deleterious influence. Subjecting themselves every seventh day to this pestilential air, in addition to the nightly ordeal, is the surest means that can be adopted for undermining their constitutions, and destroying the vital energies. The very depression of mind and body, moreover, arising from this cause, produces the desire for stimulants, and the temporary relief they afford furnishes another temptation to drunkenness, as strong as that arising from idleness or improper example.

An entire liberty of the press is sanctioned in Denmark. All subjects are discussed with freedom, and often with considerable talent; but the writers do not always confine themselves within the bounds of moderation; and the hostile feelings of political parties are sometimes expressed in violent and envenomed language. This is not surprising, for a new power acquired by a people is seldom at first wielded with discretion, and in the rancour of political animosity personal invective often usurps the place that should be held by reason alone. Yet, on the whole, journalism is respectably conducted; and as education is general, the opinions of the press are extensively read, and

exercise a powerful and increasing influence over the public mind.

Although the literary and scientific works published in Denmark appear few when compared with those issuing from the press of England, still, when the population is considered, their number is most creditable, while many of them, being productions of vast merit and great importance, show with what real ardour letters are cultivated by the Danes. In the department of Archæology especially, and particularly that branch of it relating to the antiquities of the North, much valuable matter has been given to the world.

Independent of original works, translations are abundant, and embrace a wide range of subjects chosen from the literature of all countries. Amongst the lovers of light reading, Charles Dickens is a favourite author; indeed, the stern realities of existence, — the homely, truthful scenes,—the characters and class of society, so forcibly represented by that justly celebrated writer, are precisely suited to the taste, and bent of thought of the great majority of Danish readers.

The Danes are not an imaginative people: carry them into the regions of fiction and they are lost; put them on the beaten track of life along which men trudge or struggle in every day garb, and they follow the familiar route with interest and pleasure; they recognise the truthfulness of Dickens's writing, for it speaks to their feelings and accords with their experience. This author's books are said to have been reproduced in the Danish language with great spirit; the point and piquant character of the original writing being admirably preserved in the translations.

Education is universal in Denmark, and is placed under the superintendence of the Minister of Public Worship and Instruction. The establishments for tuition are divided into three classes; namely, the superior, including the University and Polytechnic School of Copenhagen, the secondary, and primary.

The University of Copenhagen is composed of the five faculties of theology (Lutheran), of law and political sciences, of medicine, of philosophy, and of mathematical and natural sciences; having in all forty-eight professors, namely, five of theology, eight of law, ten of medicine, eighteen of philosophy in its various branches, and seven of mathematical and natural sciences. The student is free to follow any classes he may choose during the University term, and can present himself for examination when he pleases, or when he feels sufficiently prepared. There are generally about a thousand students attending the University.

The salaries of the professors vary from about 100*l.* to 312*l.* per annum, and they gradually rise from the smallest to the largest income by order of seniority in each faculty. Some of them receive a slight addition to their fixed salaries, but this is often only temporary. The expenses of the University are defrayed by the revenues of the foundation, and the income derived from donations and legacies.

There are a fine college library of a hundred and fifty thousand volumes, several museums and collections, and a botanical garden, to all of which the students have free access. The old university buildings and library were destroyed by fire at the beginning of the eighteenth century,

and were rebuilt by Christian VI. The present edifice is of a nondescript style of architecture, by no means in character with its purpose. If the architect intended to produce a solemn and imposing structure, he has signally failed in his object. The building is said, in Copenhagen, to be of Egyptian character, but has been more correctly, though satirically, described by a German traveller as of the "Byzantio-Arab-Hindoo style."

The creation in Denmark of colleges or institutions for the cultivation of letters, arts, and sciences, depended before the Reformation, on the sanction of the Court of Rome;—princes, nobles, or people, were alike powerless to accomplish such objects unless the Pope accorded them permission; thus the dissemination of the higher branches of learning, with a mass of other useful knowledge, was generally retarded, and often forbidden.

Eric, of Pomerania, who succeeded Margaret in 1412, solicited, and was the first to obtain the power of founding an university at Copenhagen; but the favour was granted only on condition that theology should not be taught in it, while the privilege of establishing it was to be annulled if it were not instituted before the expiration of two years. This really arrived, and half a century more rolled by ere Christian I., when on a pilgrimage at Rome,—where he had gone to obtain absolution from a vow made to visit the Holy Land,—inspired the Pope with so high an opinion of his merits as a worthy and docile son of the Church, that the potentate, amongst other marks of confidence, invested him with the necessary "bull" for founding the University.

On Christian's return to Denmark, the plan of the new

college was arranged, the Bishop of Roeskilde appointed chancellor, eight professors were obtained from Cologne, and the establishment was inaugurated with great pomp in June, 1479. Its progress was, however, slow—as the necessary funds were not forthcoming—until the Reformation, when Christian III. endowed it with considerable revenues, part of the enormous confiscated property of the church and convents; but it was yet some time before the full benefits of the institution were recognised and developed, many of the young nobles being still sent into Germany and Switzerland to obtain their education.

The statutes were revised in 1788, and the number of professors considerably augmented, since which time the institution has gradually extended its sphere of usefulness; indeed, the University of Copenhagen has long held a high position in Europe, not only as a celebrated school of learning, but from the distinguished scholars who have been amongst the number of its professors.

Nothing indicates more strongly the dominion exercised over the North by the Church of Rome than the late period at which this University was founded, or the means to which the Monarch was obliged to descend, even at last, to procure the privilege of establishing it. As Scandinavia was late in adopting Christianity, so the Popes appear to have ruled the people through their superstitions, with a severity to which one scarcely comprehends their submitting so long. Perhaps no greater piece of tyranny could have been adopted, than refusing to sanction the foundation of an institution for the higher branches of learning, and thereby forcing all the better classes of a country to seek their education in foreign lands. No wonder that a nation

thus treated should, when the opportunity arrived, throw off the yoke, not partially, but to a man, and that they should have looked on with indifference while the Church, under whose thraldom they had so long been held, was despoiled of its vast revenues. But it is incomprehensible how they permitted the great bulk of ecclesiastical property to be appropriated to any but national purposes; how, without concern, they could see it lavished upon the aristocracy, whose power for tyrannising over themselves was thus so greatly increased. The Danes seem to have cast off the fetters of the Church only to wear the chains of the nobles; and when these became unendurable, they sought for relief by one of the most remarkable acts that modern history records, — they invested their sovereigns with full despotic power in a formal and solemn manner, through the States-General — thus voluntarily surrendering the last shadow of liberty.

There are several superior foundations in Copenhagen beside the University. One, called the Regent's College, was established by Christian IV. for a hundred students, who are lodged gratuitously. Three others, founded at different periods, lodge each sixteen students; the inmates of all being allowed a small sum of money annually.

The establishments for "secondary instruction" comprise, first, the "learned or Latin schools," in which education is based on the classics and a profound knowledge of the dead languages; and, secondly, the *real skoler*, or schools where the mathematical and physical sciences, with modern languages, are principally taught. In the class of secondary instruction are also placed many other public

and private establishments, the naval and military Colleges of Cadets, and the Academy of Fine Arts.

There are thirteen "learned or Latin schools" in Denmark, destined to prepare for the University. They have thirteen hundred scholars, and are supported by the revenues from their foundations, legacies, small annual grants from the State, and the payments from pupils.

Nearly all the military officers are educated at the College of Cadets, where they are entered at fourteen, and remain for five or six years. The superior military college at Copenhagen is under the control of the Minister of War.

All the naval officers pass through the naval college of cadets, where they are received, after examination, at the age of twelve, and remain from five to seven years, according to their abilities. They go to sea annually for three months in a ship-of-war kept expressly for their use, where they are taught all the duties of sailors.

The Academy of Fine Arts has a school to which are attached nine professors, beside nine secondary *schools of design*, destined for general instruction, but more especially for apprentices and young artisans, of whom six hundred constantly attend. The annual charge is about thirty shillings, English; but all who can show their inability to pay this small sum are instructed gratis, and these constitute the majority.

There is another kind of institution particularly devoted to teaching apprentices and young artisans, called the *Technical School*, founded about twelve years ago by a private association, which defrays nearly all the expenses; and the best proof of its utility is in the fact of its being constantly attended by four or five hundred pupils.

Beside these establishments, Copenhagen has an excellent Academy of Commerce, a College of Agriculture, and numerous private secondary schools on an extensive scale.

The Danish Government has for the last two centuries turned its particular attention to the question of "elementary instruction," the third class of education; and it early established a system which was greatly extended, reformed, and organised in 1814, when the schools in the Duchies were put upon the same footing as those in Denmark. Not a child, boy or girl, grows up within the Danish dominions, either in town or country, without having learned at least the catechism, reading, writing, and arithmetic; to which are usually added some general notions of geography, with the particular geography and history of their own country. The following are some interesting statistics on this subject, relating to the rural districts and towns of Denmark Proper: —

Rural Population	1,118,000
Scholars (Boys and Girls)	162,000
Primary Schools	2,520
Number of Masters	2,630
Scholars per School	65
Scholars per Master	62
Town Population	161,000
Children	22,500
Scholars	16,120
Primary Schools	120
Masters	294
Mistresses	30
Scholars per School	130
Scholars per Master	55

Each commune supports one or more of these primary schools, established in houses devoted entirely to the purpose; the children are obliged to go to them at the age

of seven, their education being gratuitous, as it is also to the poor of the towns. The masters are educated in normal schools, where they are trained expressly for the art of teaching. There is in each province a *commission*, composed of the pastor and some laymen, who undertake to watch the progress of primary instruction, whether in public or private establishments. They visit the schools under their charge; from time to time examine the children, and report on their progress. There is no restriction put upon the number of private educational establishments, but they all fall under the control of the communal "commissions," and, through them, under the Minister of Public Instruction.

There are no less than fifteen thousand children educated in the public primary schools of Copenhagen, beside seven thousand, in a hundred and sixty private establishments either for purely elementary, or for rather more extended instruction. There are also in each town of sufficient importance to require them, what are called *Practical Schools*, which are of a superior description to the primary.

We shall not attempt to enumerate, much less describe, all the charitable institutions of Copenhagen, for they are very numerous — the Danes yielding to no other nation in those feelings which prompt to acts of philanthropy. In some respects, however, they *were* sadly behind. The city was not lighted with gas, nor were there any water-pipes to supply the houses; but these are *now* being introduced, not only into Copenhagen, but into the principal provincial towns.

The pitching of the streets — both in the roads and side-walks — seems expressly intended to give the pedes-

trian the greatest amount of torture in the smallest space of time. Woe be to the unlucky wight who ventures forth in thin-soled "chaussure" to make his perambulations over the apices of these small, excruciating pebbles. "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise;" so the good Dane goes trotting along over the sharp stones, to which habit has accustomed him, labouring under the happy delusion that Copenhagen is one of the best paved cities in Europe.

CHAP. XII.

ISLAND OF AMAC.—THE ROYAL NAVY.—DANISH POLICY.—A LOSS TO THE NATION A NATIONAL GAIN.—AN EXCURSION IN ZEALAND.—FREDERICKSBORG CASTLE.—THE RIDDAR-SAAL.—THE DANISH SOVEREIGN.—ARBOREAL BEAUTY.

In the southern part of the city, on the island of Amac, or Amager, stands "Vor Frelser's Kirke" (the Church of our Redeemer). It is perhaps the most conspicuous object in Copenhagen, from having a light staircase winding round the outside of its tall spire. This, on our return from the islands, we determined to ascend. From below, it looked too frail to bear the weight of a child, but we found it in reality strong and solid enough, although the iron railing forming the outer guard seemed but a slight barrier between us and the lower regions. The varied and panoramic view which this mode of ascent offered was highly pleasing, and amply repaid us for the trouble of mounting, which enabled us also to complete the "bird's-eye" view of the city commenced from the Trinity tower on the north.

Beyond the city wall, towards the south, stretches the Isle of Amac, forming the north-eastern boundary of Kioge Bay. This island is eight miles long and four broad at the widest part. It is well cultivated, and is

principally inhabited by descendants of Dutch colonists introduced by Christian II.: according to some, at the request of his wife Elizabeth, sister of Charles V., who had been brought up in the Low Countries; according to others, at the persuasion of Sigebrit, the mother of his mistress, who was also a native of the Netherlands.

These colonists were the first people to cultivate vegetables in Denmark, having been brought into the country for that especial purpose. They had many privileges bestowed on them; and, being steady and industrious, became a thriving community. They still retain their pristine costume, and are remarkable objects when mingling on the Sunday amongst the Danish population; but their language has gradually become a "patois" of Flemish, Low German, and Dansk.

From our height we could look immediately down upon the commercial harbour and the canals running from east to west, dividing the city into two parts, and affording an immense line of wharfage for loading and unloading merchant shipping. Close by the commercial is the military harbour, where ships of war in all stages of preparation for service were lying. It is said to be the intention of the Danish Government to form a new port for the navy, and give up this harbour to commerce,—a boon of incalculable value, which will do much to encourage the development of the mercantile marine of the country, and to make Copenhagen what it ought to be,—the most active and flourishing port in the Baltic. The dockyard, naval arsenal, and store-houses appeared conveniently arranged for the wants of the fleet.

The royal navy of Denmark is composed of five ships of

the line of 66 to 84 guns, six frigates of 40 to 60, five corvettes of 14 to 28, four brigs of 12 to 16, four schooners of 1 to 8, ninety gun-boats, and six armed steamers, from 120 to 160 horse power. A permanent corps of 2000 men, consisting of sailors, gunners, and workmen, is kept up in time of peace; and the numbers necessary for a state of war are supplied by volunteers, or by conscription in the coast districts, which, on emergency, can supply 20,000 men.

The officers consist of one vice-admiral, two rear-admirals, eight commanders, eight captain-commanders, sixteen captains, twenty-six lieutenant-captains, thirty-eight first, and the same number of second, lieutenants.

The above is a sad falling off from the fine fleets which Denmark possessed at the beginning of the present century, when she could send to sea from twenty-five to thirty line-of-battle ships, with frigates and other vessels in proportion; her naval power was, however, annihilated by England in 1807, and has never since risen to more than comparatively insignificant importance. The capture and destruction of their royal ships was the greatest blow that could be struck at the heart and the feelings of the Danish nation; it was not only the material loss and diminished influence thereby entailed, which grieved them, but they were wounded in their affections. They were more than attached to, they almost loved, their navy; and to this day cannot speak without emotion of its loss. They are justly proud also of the order in which their ships were and are kept, and of the discipline and gallantry of the crews, for there are really no finer sailors in the world than the Danish.

Although the souvenirs of the catastrophe which deprived the Danes of their fleet have not yet passed away, they seem to think and speak of it more in sorrow than in anger; and strong as are their reasons for entertaining none but acrimonious sentiments toward England, we never traced any evidence of such feelings existing amongst the many individuals with whom we came into contact; but, on the contrary, the general tendency of opinion was highly favourable to this country, which sentiment was increasing with the rapid development of commercial relations between the two nations.

That there was, however, at the period of our visit, a small and influential party in the interest of Russia is certain, and it was then actively engaged in supporting the Russian policy in the Schleswig-Holstein question. That party still exists, and the increased difficulties of its position give fresh stimuli to its energies; but it is regarded with suspicion by the bulk of the people, over whom it exercises no influence, for the national mind is too strongly opposed to absolutism, and the national material interests are too closely bound up with England, to permit the councils of so small a minority to prevail.

That the small vessels and gun-boats of Denmark would be of value to the Anglo-French fleet in the Baltic Sea there can be no two opinions, and that the Danes would gain a political importance by an alliance with England and France which they have not possessed for forty years is equally clear; beside which they would greatly strengthen their position in relation to Prussia, who will certainly hold the chances of gaining territorially at the expense of Denmark as no inconsiderable element in

any combination she may make during the present struggle.

The Danish army is composed of a staff; a corps of engineers, with two companies of sappers and miners and one company of pontoniers; a brigade of artillery, consisting of two regiments with twelve field-batteries of eight pieces each; twenty-seven squadrons of cavalry of 120 men, including a squadron of cuirassiers and two squadrons of hussars, forming the royal horse-guards; and twenty-three battalions of infantry, each of 1000 men, including a regiment of grenadiers forming the foot-guards.

These constitute the permanent forces of the country, beside which there are a strong *reserve* and *reinforcement*, consisting of regiments and battalions that are organised and assembled only in case of war. The recruitment of the army is by conscription, which is applicable to all classes alike, every young man twenty-two years old being equally liable to serve; but substitutes are permitted. The number required each year is fixed by a special law. Those who are not drawn immediately are registered as belonging to the reinforcement. In time of peace the recruits do garrison duty only during the first sixteen months, and are then sent on furlough, but called out for exercise during a few weeks in each of the three following years; after which they pass into the reserve for four, and thence into the reinforcement for eight years longer; thus completing their full period of sixteen years obligatory service, during the last twelve of which, however, they are not called to arms unless in cases of emergency.

This military system always enables Denmark to collect together a respectable force with considerable rapidity

under extraordinary circumstances; and the men we met in such numbers during our tour through the islands belonged to these two classes of reserve.

The Danes are brave and steady in the field, not impetuous, but solid and enduring; they are, indeed, soldiers by whose side the troops of any nation might be proud to fight; and if a Danish union with the Western Powers should eventually take place, the French and English will find no truer or better men in Europe than their Northern brethren in arms.

Profoundly as the Danes deplore the destruction of their naval power, it appears really to have been a beneficial circumstance for them. The difficulty of supporting a fleet so utterly disproportionate to the reduced territorial extent and population of the country, would have been immense, and could have been accomplished only by grinding the people down with a burdensome amount of taxation, thereby impeding the development of national prosperity, and leading to serious, if not ruinous, financial embarrassment. The nation would doubtless have willingly made any sacrifice to keep up their favourite service, but in that feeling precisely lay their danger, for it would have prevented a voluntary reduction of what had become a most useless expenditure.

The reconstruction of the lost fleet would, however, have been so gigantic an undertaking with such reduced means, that even the boldest men, and most enthusiastic admirers of the navy, quailed before the task. The consequence is, that by the relief from this heavy burden, the finances of Denmark have gradually assumed a more satisfactory condition, the ordinary expenditure having been so far re-

duced as to be covered by the ordinary income of the State.

A temporary check to financial prosperity was caused by the internal troubles of 1848, and succeeding years; but this passed by with the termination of the war, while the industrial and commercial movements of the country seem to have started up with greater vigour than ever since this partial interruption has ceased.

Let us hope that the modification of the constitution of 1849 which has just taken place (1855) in such a sense as to embrace the whole of the dominions under a *common constitution*, will leave Denmark in a state of internal political tranquillity greater than she has enjoyed for several years, so that the minds of the people, relieved from the distraction of agitating questions at home, may be able more dispassionately to examine their position in relation to the war now going on, in which case they can scarcely fail to decide that their true interests lie not in neutrality, but in an union with the Western Powers.

It cannot, however, be concealed that in the new constitution, there are elements for great dissatisfaction, if not of future trouble; for whereas under that of 1849, universal suffrage existed, each elector must now be a taxpayer of 20*l.*, or possess an income of 120*l.* per annum, which it is said will reduce the number of voters to less than one fortieth of what it was under the previous system. This is a sad blow to the Danes, who have prospered so well under their political freedom; and it is to be deplored on the higher ground, that there never was a nation in which universal suffrage could, with so much safety and justice be permitted; for the fact of every individual

being educated removes the principal objection to such extensive political freedom.

True to the appointed hour of six in the morning, our "viener vogne" arrived to take us on an excursion through the North of Zealand, and in a few minutes we were again on the road, enjoying the fresh air of a fine day. Soon after issuing from the city gate we overtook some regiments on their way to be reviewed, previous to their departure for the expected seat of war. The men had not that erect carriage, precision of step, or martial bearing, which high discipline and constant drill have given to the British soldier, while a strict English adjutant would probably have found many a button half an inch from the right spot, many a cuff or collar in disaccordance with "regulation," and many a head of hair too long to be compatible with good fighting. There was, nevertheless, a sturdy solidity, a manly gait, and an air of sufficient resolution to indicate that these Danish troops would steadily and unflinchingly execute whatever duty they were called upon to perform.

Continuing our route, we reached "Sorgenfrie," the residence of the Queen Dowager of Denmark, a plain structure, but surrounded by well-arranged grounds, with agreeable walks and beautiful woods. The appearance of the country varies little from other parts of Zealand, but the peasants' cottages and farm-houses are rather more numerous, built of brick, and generally neat.

Trot, trot, at the old pace, brought us in about five hours to the Castle of Fredericksborg, completely covering three small islands in a pretty lake, connected together by bridges. This edifice was built by Christian IV., at the

beginning of the seventeenth century, before the Italian style in its pure form had been transplanted into Northern Europe, but while it was still blended with the architecture that had previously prevailed. This union was unnatural, in detail displeasing, in idea revolting; yet in a certain class of buildings it gave the "*tout ensemble*" a highly picturesque appearance. What in thought can be more incongruous than Doric columns and pointed arches, heavy cornices and flying buttresses, metopes and crockets? Yet in the early *renaissance* they were constantly combined, and from their very contrast often produced a good effect.

The desire of the human mind for perpetual change is well illustrated by architecture. Even the beautiful had not power to keep it constant. The chaste classic orders gave way to the grosser Byzantine and Romanesque, to which the graceful pointed style succeeded. When this had reached such rare perfection that human skill appeared exhausted, man, in his longings for variety, not being content with elegance, flew to mediocrity, and thence to debased taste. Creative genius died, and in the search for novelty, architects could light on no nobler thought than joining the Roman orders with the Gothic style; thus we see mingled in Fredericksborg Castle, turrets and Tuscan columns, pinnacles and gables, towers now receding now advancing, but all springing directly from the waters of the lake, and appearing by reflection to sink as deep below, as they rise majestically above, its surface.

Of the like material and architecture as Rosenborg, built about the same time, but being much larger, Fredericksborg has the additional advantage of situation to bring out its picturesque. The bright waters whence

its foundations spring, give light which throws out the lines, bestows *æsthetic* character even on sombre brick, and produces an effect most charming.

Round the greater part of the lake are scattered the village houses of Hilleröd, while from its sloping border, opposite the castle's principal façade, rise terraced gardens, and beyond, a background of splendid trees with foliage thick and passing beautiful.

Over drawbridge, beneath portcullis, and through warder's gate we pass, traverse galleries, and cross moats to reach the grand quadrangle of this fortified mansion. Here turrets and battlemented walls, with mouldings bold, and windows bay, receive additional ornament from sculptured figures and armorial bearings, and we only require a group of armoured knights to take us back to feudal days; but all is stillness, for the only sound is of our footsteps echoed from the lofty towers as we walk across the paved court. The King was living in the palace, nevertheless it seemed deserted; we scarcely saw a soul beyond our guide. This was quite as well, for modern lackeys with powdered heads and gaudy liveries, would but have ill-replaced the sturdy men-at-arms or bold retainers of a bygone age.

Entering the main building by a low portal, the cicerone conducted us to a large vaulted apartment on the ground floor, containing the shields with armorial bearings of deceased Knights of the Elephant arranged chronologically from the foundation of the order. The escutcheon of many a man was there who occupies a niche in history's temple: the biography of those knights embodies all that is exciting in the annals of modern times. In a similar

chamber, on the same floor, we found, hanging to the massive walls, the arms of the Knights of the Cross, the second order of Denmark, and containing many names of note.

The chapel is beautifully proportioned, consisting of a nave a hundred and forty feet long; the vaulted ceiling being in stone, and the walls, having that redundance of ornament which characterised the last period of the pointed style; while such a profusion of other decoration has been added that we quite forget the place is consecrated to the unostentatious Lutheran form of worship. Along the side galleries are a number of indifferent pictures; while the gallery over the altar contains the shields of living Knights of the Elephant. Amongst them was then conspicuous the escutcheon of the "dear old Duke," since, doubtless consigned to the chamber below, there to hang side by side with that of the great Napoleon, — these two mighty chiefs and rivals in the battle-field having been brother knights of this illustrious order. Nor is it unlikely that the Duke's shield has been replaced in the chapel by that of Napoleon III., lately invested with the order by the King of Denmark.

The altar and pulpit at once attract attention, consisting of silver and ebony, exquisitely carved in the Gothic style, — a chaste and beautiful combination. The subject of the altar-piece is the crucifixion between the two thieves, each figure being eighteen inches high, while round the pulpit are statuettes of our Saviour and the four Evangelists, each about two feet three inches in height; the whole of solid silver and most refined workmanship. Six hundredweight of this metal is said to exist in these admirable works.

The King's pew is fitted with ebony, inlaid with other woods, and contains some carved and turned ornaments in ivory, curious from being productions of Christian IV., of whom there is also a portrait representing him in the act of praying. The organ is small, but covered with grouped figures in wood carving, painted and gilded, contrasting with the pure silver and ebony, but in keeping with the general style of decoration in the chapel.

The Riddar-Saal, or Knights' Hall, is an apartment over the chapel, and of the same size, although the former has the appearance of being much the larger, first, from the absence of galleries, altar, and other objects, to break the lines; secondly, from being much less in height, whereby the proportions are destroyed. The flat ceiling of carved oak is the most extraordinary production of the kind existing. It is divided into compartments, filled with grotesque figures and queer designs. The artist appears to have resorted, not only to animated and floral nature, but to the mythological world, and even to a prolific imagination, for objects wherewith to produce symbolic representations, the mysteries of which his own brain alone could unravel. Monstrous forms and foliage, odd shaped animals and flowers, satyrs and graces, are mingled together, and twisted into complicated devices of endless variety. Finely executed, carefully finished, divided by mouldings, studded with bosses, intermingled with inscriptions,—all richly painted and gilded,—they combine to produce a mass of florid and luxuriant ornament positively overwhelming to gaze upon. We were not astonished on being told that a quarter of a hundred men worked constantly for seven long years upon this most elaborate ceiling. It makes one

quite giddy to think how the artist must have racked his brain to eke out the thousands of bizarre objects here brought together, and so ingeniously arranged.

Around the walls are hung portraits of Danish and other royal personages, generally of questionable merit as works of art, but historically interesting. The black marble chimney-piece, of Gothic design, in keeping with the apartment, is well executed; the massive silver ornaments with which it was originally decorated were removed by the Swedes under Charles Gustavus in his second invasion of Zealand, the walls and moats of Fredericksborg Castle having offered but slight obstacles to the arms of those adventurous soldiers who had crossed the frozen Belts.

We traversed a series of small rooms and corridors, containing innumerable portraits, which we shall not stop to describe, especially as there was not a striking picture amongst them. Both the state and private apartments were closed to the prying eyes of curious strangers, so we did not gain admittance to them; which we regretted, were it only that we missed reading that touching line traced with a diamond on a window pane by the hand of the unfortunate Caroline Matilda, "O! keep me innocent, make others great."

This "chateau" is a favourite residence of the present King, Frederic VII. He was residing there at the period of our visit, with the Countess Danner who he first raised to rank and then privately married, he having previously been twice divorced. Frederic VII. was born in 1808, ascended the throne in 1848, and has no children. His uncle, Frederic Ferdinand — also without legitimate

issue—being the last male heir to the Crown of Denmark, the dynasty of Christian I. seems destined shortly to expire.

The Danes looked forward with great hope to the accession of Frederic VII. to the throne, for he had, while crown prince, displayed a tendency to opinions favourable to the people, and had even gone so far as to promise them a constitution. He kept his word on succeeding to the sovereignty, but his reign was scarcely commenced when war broke out with Germany, in consequence of the rising of the Duchies, and the efforts of Prussia to separate Schleswig from the Danish kingdom and unite it with Holstein into one principality. The Danes nobly vindicated their rights, and on the blood-stained fields of Fredericia and Idsted defended their nationality, coming victoriously out of the contest in 1851. The return of those troops to Copenhagen, which we had seen departing from it, was a time of great rejoicing, for they had covered themselves with laurels, and the people received them with enthusiasm. What the nation gained by arms, however, was in some measure lost by diplomacy. Frederic VII. having been influenced on the side of absolutism, a long political struggle took place between the sovereign with his ministers on one side, and the people on the other; but the demonstrations of the latter became at length so decided, that in December, 1854, the King dismissed the ministry, since which time he has somewhat regained his popularity.

On the 26th of March, 1855, the *Folkething*, or Second Chamber of Parliament, carried a motion by ninety-four votes to one, for the trial of seven members of the late

ministry, for violation of the fundamental law of the constitution, in having expended a sum of 60,000*l.* in prejudicial and illegal armaments; and the Minister of War, in particular, for expending 5000*l.*, in spite of the positive refusal of the *Rigsdag*. That trial is to come off at the beginning of 1856.

We cannot help thinking that had the Danes been left to settle their own affairs after the termination of the war with the Duchies, they would have come to a more satisfactory conclusion than the meddling diplomacy of England and Russia permitted them to do. Had the former power, however, exercised her influence independently, and with a clear perception that the interests of the Danish nation were identical with her own (which they were), better solutions of the grave questions under discussion might have been found, and especially of that relating to the succession. As it was, English ministers were the dupes of Russian diplomatists; and a relative of the Imperial family of Russia—named and supported by that power—was accepted by Europe, and in 1853 declared successor to the throne of Denmark.

By inducing his son-in-law, the Prince of Hesse, to withdraw his claims to the succession, the Emperor Nicholas became the direct instrument in raising Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, to the position of heir to the Danish Crown. The probable consequences of this nomination fill the Danish people with anxiety, if not alarm; they fear a closer alliance on the part of their future King to the principles of absolutism, toward which they have the strongest repugnance. This fear was not a little increased when, on the death of the

late Emperor, Prince Christian visited St. Petersburg, where he met with a most flattering reception, and where nothing was left undone to strengthen and confirm his attachment for his Imperial relatives, and the Russian political creed.

After taking refreshment at the small inn, and visiting the gardens of Fredericksborg, which were not in such good order as they might have been, we continued our route through a magnificent beech forest, intersected by walks and drives innumerable, where the lover of sylvan solitude might find everything to suit his taste, and the admirer of arborial beauty revel in the pleasure of beholding some of the finest specimens of trees that Nature ever produced.

We passed by another royal palace called Fredensborg, which, however, we had no reason to suppose worth the time and trouble of exploring, after the numerous edifices of the kind we had already visited. The gardens are said to be fine; but, as the rain was falling fast, we did not descend to inspect them.

CHAP. XIII.

ELSINEUR. — HAMLET. — CRONSBERG CASTLE. — ORIGIN OF THE SOUND DUES. — REVENUE FROM THE SOUND DUES. — THE IMPOST SANCTIONED BY EUROPE. — A FAST COUNTRY. — DENMARK'S DIFFICULTY.

THE shower being over, and the evening sun shining in all his splendour when we reached Elsineur, we made our way at once to a neighbouring hill, peculiarly interesting to every English traveller, from being named, by tradition, as the scene of many incidents in the life of Hamlet, described in the immortal Shakspeare's tragedy. The cicerone even pointed to three stones of a broken column as marking the Prince of Denmark's grave.

" As thou'rt a man —
Give me the cup: let go; by heaven I'll have it!
Oh, God! — Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me?
* * * * * * *

* * * O! I die, Horatio,
The potent poison quite o'er-crows my spirit."

We indulged for a moment in the illusion that we were standing on the very ground trodden often by the unhappy Hamlet, and that we looked upon the spot where were deposited his mortal remains. But the unwelcome truth would force itself upon us, and dispel the pleasing vision. Hamlet never raved, Ophelia never sighed, Ho-

ratio never moralised, nor did the ghost appear in "a questionable shape" in or near Elsineur. There is no "high eastern hill" across which

> "The morn in russet mantle clad,
> Walks o'er the dew." * * *

There is no *brook* nor *glassy stream*, near which poor Ophelia breathed her last; and yet, such power do words springing from a mighty brain exercise over us, even when we know them to be but fiction, that we could scarcely cast aside the belief that Hamlet *did* live and die at Elsineur, and not in Jutland, where, in reality, this prince existed.

The hill — included within the neglected grounds of Marianlust, a small royal palace — commands a superb view, seen by us under the most favourable circumstances. The sun is low in the western horizon — part of Elsineur in shade, part lighted up — the towers of stately Cronsberg are flushed with red — near the shore the sea is studded with anchored vessels, and farther off with craft of all sizes, running before a fair wind into, or *beating out* of the Sound — the town of Helsingborg is seen clear in outline on the Swedish coast — the Scanian plains, clothed in warmest hues, stretch far away to the east, and the dark waters of the tideless Baltic to the south, while Kullen's rugged rocks, warmed by the full rays into florid gloominess, push boldly into the Cattegat towards the north, the whole — being overhung by a field of milk-white, gold-edged clouds — producing a *coup d'œil* varied and enchanting; sometimes pictured, but rarely seen.

Elsineur is tolerably well built in the best part, but,

like all sea ports, it has some dirty and disreputable quarters. It is one of the most ancient towns of Zealand, its admirable position for commerce having been early recognised; but its prosperity excited the jealousy of the Hanseatic League, which claimed the monopoly of the Baltic trade; and they sent fleets on several occasions to burn and pillage the place. Being the great touching port for vessels passing in and out of the Baltic, many are always seen here at anchor, and as they often lay in fresh provisions and other necessaries, an active and lucrative trade is carried on by the inhabitants. There are resident consuls of every nation, rendered necessary from Elsineur being the locality where the Sound dues are collected.

Here is situated the beautiful castle of Cronsberg, of Gothic architecture, commenced in 1577 by Frederic II., and finished in eight years. It is well built of stone, and consists of a quadrangle two hundred and fifty by two hundred and forty feet, flanked by one square and three round towers, and inclosing a fine court. It is defended by outer works, of a later date than the main building, which are strong, and heavily armed towards the sea; the whole having the appearance of a powerful fortress. It is a magnificent pile, combining the boldness and strength of the old feudal castle with Gothic lightness and grace; while the internal arrangements are adapted to the improved domestic habits of the period at which it was constructed.

Built upon a point of land projecting into the Sound, it commands the only deep and certain channel; but in 1801 its guns were no obstacle to the passage of a hostile

fleet, and still less could they be so in these days of steam. As there are other regulations even more effectual than the fear of shot or shell to prevent merchantmen evading the dues, Cronsberg appears of little service, either in an offensive or defensive point of view. All vessels are obliged to pay respect, when passing it, to the Danish flag, by hoisting their ensigns, and, under certain circumstances, by lowering a sail.

We visited many of the apartments in the castle, and were taken to a room called the picture gallery, containing a number of paintings representing Copenhagen as it existed in 1750. There is an extensive range of vaults beneath the edifice, a peep into one of which was sufficient to satisfy our curiosity; for although they have their legends, which the guide does not fail, with becoming reverence, to relate, the date of the structure is too recent to invest them with the interest attached to fabulous tales of a thousand years.

The apartments occupied by Caroline Matilda when a prisoner here now form the residence of the Governor. We did not visit them, which we regretted much, for the sad fate of that princess is the only historical association connected with Cronsberg which awakens in an Englishman's breast any lively interest. That she was guilty of great indiscretion in her freedom with Struensee there cannot be a doubt; but her enemies were too prudent and too malignant to give her an opportunity of proving herself innocent of a more serious charge.

Frederic II. is said to have built Cronsberg Castle entirely at his private expense, and at enormous cost. He is known frequently to have expressed pleasure that "not

a single stone had been paid for by his subjects," for which his historians have given him considerable credit; but when it is remembered that the edifice was erected with the view of enforcing the payment of the Sound dues, the proceeds of which went entirely into the pocket of the King, we do not discover any such great merit in the act.

A register of all ships passing the Sound is kept at one of the bastions. The numbers on the day of our visit were forty English, twenty-five Dutch, eleven Swedish, nine Danish, and a few of other nations, but no American vessels.

The origin of the Sound dues goes back to those days when it was the custom in many countries of Europe to levy a tax on all vessels or property passing by certain channels or roads; which toll was supposed to guarantee the payer from farther pillage while traversing the dominions or districts under the control of the receiver. This tax was called in the north of England "black mail," and was originally instituted there by the moss troopers. The system was, in fact, but a compromise between the mariner or traveller and the pirate or robber, the latter permitting the former to pass without farther molestation on paying a certain amount, in money, goods, corn, or cattle. The custom in Denmark doubtless originated with the sea rovers, who so long held possession of the neighbouring channels; but when law and order gained an ascendency, and the government became more regular, the Kings claimed, as a legal right, the collection of a toll that had taken its rise from so unworthy a source.

At first, the tax consisted of a simple sum for each vessel, including the cargo, but the trade being then small,

the annual amount received was quite insignificant. No sooner, however, did the traffic increase, through the exertions of Christian II. and his immediate successors, who extended the commerce of the kingdom, than complaints were made, and serious contentions arose between Denmark and other countries concerning this obnoxious toll.

These disputes early commenced with Holland, which carried on a considerable trade in the Baltic. In order to establish the commercial relations of these two countries on a fixed basis, and to settle the vexed question of the Sound dues, Christian III. and Charles V. of Spain, to whom the Low Countries then belonged, had an interview in 1544 at Spejer, where they signed the earliest treaty, now in existence, on the subject. Charles therein recognised the right of Denmark to levy the Sound dues, and agreed that Dutch vessels should pay the same toll as they had previously done, although the tax had been exorbitantly raised by Christian only a short time before. But the Dutch merchants did not complain less because their royal master had legalised this arbitrary tribute.

From that time Denmark has been continually involved in difficulties with other countries on the question,—some of them of a most serious character,—but with all, and through all, she has maintained her pretension and asserted her rights; the consequence of which has been that her opponents, instead of benefiting by their resistance to the Sound dues, have invariably ended in formally recognising them.

To Sweden in particular the toll was most galling, especially after Scania fell under her permanent dominion. She naturally demanded upon what plea of justice or

precedent payment should be exacted from her vessels when passing a channel that on one side washed her own shore, and over which she consequently claimed an equal right of control. The first dispute between Denmark and Sweden took place in 1570, and was settled by the Treaty of Stettin, declaring the Sound free for the vessels of both nations; but fresh quarrels soon broke out, and fresh conventions were agreed upon; yet in spite of all, the old system was continued with extraordinary tenacity by the Kings of Denmark,—a tenacity which can be accounted for only by the fact, before mentioned, that the revenues from the tax then belonged exclusively to the Sovereign. *Now*, however, they go to the national exchequer, in which they form a most important item.

One of the late Swedish Diets again mooted the question of the Sound dues; and a long discussion followed, in which the payment of six hundred thousand rix dollars that annually weighs upon the importations of the kingdom, together with the vexations and impediments to commerce, were brought forward as strong reasons for opening negotiations either for the total abolition of the impost, or for a modification of the present system. The Diet invited King Oscar to give expression to their propositions; and suggested that a congress, composed of representatives from all nations interested, should meet and discuss the question, with a view to bring it, if possible, to a conclusion that would satisfy the legitimate claims of each country, without inflicting too great sacrifices on Denmark.

In 1756 the Sound dues amounted to 32,000*l.* only; they are now estimated at 320,000*l.* annually, — an in-

crease of nine hundred per cent. in a hundred years; while in 1853 they reached the enormous amount of 380,000*l.*, but in 1854 there was a considerable falling off, as will be understood by the following table of ships passing the Sound, with the nations to which they belong:—

	1852.	1853.	1854.
English - - -	3902	4685	2032
Prussian - - -	2319	3463	3095
Norwegian - - -	3020	3391	3328
Swedish - - -	2100	1978	2583
Danish - - -	1464	2071	1898
Other German States - -	1703	2280	1643
Dutch - - -	1691	1888	1460
Russian - - -	946	1237	166
French - - -	283	349	81
American - - -	76	99	36
Other Countries - -	59	98	46
Total -	17,563	21,539	16,368

Thus the increase in 1853 over 1852 was 3976 vessels, while in 1854 there was a decrease of 5171 vessels, or twenty-four per cent. on the previous year. During the first six months of 1855, 5856 ships were registered, of which 1075 were Prussian, 1003 Norwegian, 848 Swedish, and 754 English, &c.

The following budgets for the years 1853-4 and 1854-5 were voted for the kingdom of Denmark by the Legislative Chambers:—

1853–4.

	Dollars.		*£.*
Income - - -	13,795,498	or	1,552,000
Expenditure - -	13,079,985	„	1,471,500
Surplus - - -	715,513	„	80,495

1854–5.

	Dollars.		£.
Income - - -	13,277,525	or	1,493,721
Expenditure - -	13,172,075	„	1,481,858
Surplus - - - -	105,450	„	11,863

The estimates for 1855–6 are — income, 14,218,345 rix dollars, or 1,599,565*l.*; expenditure, 13,598,727 dollars, or 1,529,856*l.*

By the above statistics it will be seen that the Sound dues for 1853 amounted to about twenty-four per cent. of the estimated receipts of the kingdom for the same year; while, on an average, they may be safely reckoned at twenty per cent. of the annual income of the country.

The toll is a permanent and continually augmenting source of revenue to Denmark; but precisely in the ratio by which she is benefited does the difficulty of dispensing with it increase, and does the charge also become onerous and vexatious to those nations having extensive commercial relations with the North.

The Baltic trade has greatly augmented since the end of the last century, but Great Britain has, relatively to other nations, sadly fallen off in the number of her vessels entering and leaving that sea. In 1790 there were 3788 British ships out of 9733, and in 1800, 3139 out of 9048 registered as passing the Sound, or an average of thirty-seven per cent. of the whole number. Of latter years, however, Great Britain has not averaged above half that proportion.

The unusual activity of navigation in 1853 doubtless arose from the threatening state of the political atmosphere at that period, stimulating the mercantile world to

increased exertions in the Baltic before the threatened war should cut off the Russian trade; the small diminution of 1854, after the ports of Russia were closed to commerce, compared with 1852, is accounted for by the number of transports necessary to supply the allied fleets. The above numbers do not include men-of-war, which, together with yachts, are exempt from the toll.

Denmark undertakes to instruct and always keep pilots in readiness, and to establish lighthouses, buoys, or other necessary maritime signals, on her coasts. These arrangements are generally urged by her statesmen as reasons for maintaining the Sound dues at the existing rate, but in reality they constitute no sufficient claim for continuing so *heavy* a charge, for their expenses might be covered by a much smaller toll. Her justification for not abolishing or lowering the Sound dues, without indemnity, rests upon other grounds, and on these alone she should stand.

At the settlement of European affairs by the Treaty of Vienna, in 1815, this privilege of levying an impost on all ships passing the Sound was sanctioned by the Great Powers—an act not to be regarded as a very great favour towards Denmark, seeing that, at the same time, she was left with a heavy national debt, and robbed of four-fifths of her dominions, getting in exchange only the little Duchy of Lauenburg, and a certain sum of money from Prussia, while all the other Baltic countries derived material compensation for the tax continuing on their commerce. Russia kept Finland, Sweden took Norway, and Prussia obtained Swedish Pomerania, with the Isle of Rugen: all of these powers being at the time well satisfied with the advantageous bargains they had made.

Of the three, the hardships of the dues are greatest on Sweden, for in gaining Norway she was deprived of Finland, while from her physical relation to the Sound she is obliged to pay the heavy tax on merchandise passing as it were through her own waters. England is equally bound by her engagements to a continued payment of the dues; but her position is very different to the Baltic countries, for she did not profit territorially by the arrangement, while from her preponderant trade the charge has fallen far more heavily upon her than on other nations. The commercial relations of France with the North are comparatively small, so that she does not hold the same prominent place in the question as the other leading Powers.

Such, then, is a slight sketch of the origin and progress of the Sound dues, and such are the existing relations respecting them between Europe and Denmark. In the meantime the latter country is placed in a position of extreme difficulty by objections to the impost from another quarter, and the question threatens shortly to cause embarrassment not only to her, but to the whole civilised world.

While Denmark has thus been disputing for centuries with the chief maritime powers of Europe, and has induced them, in succession, to sanction by treaty a toll that ever remained galling to their subjects, another nation—whose adopted country was literally unknown to the old world when these contentions began—has sprung up in the West, and advanced with unparalleled rapidity to wealth and power, carrying her products into every country of the globe, and sending her ships into every sea. Young,

vigorous, and enterprising, she pushes boldly forward to the beck of fortune. Resolute in the belief of a glorious future, and, regardless of all obstacles, she rushes onward, and onward still, wildly vociferating "Go a-head."

Untrammelled by engagements that bind many of the old nations—who, with refined subtlety in diplomacy, have so entangled themselves in the meshes of a conventional net that all their movements are impeded — America now steps forward to assert her right of immunity from obligations to which she never became a party, and declares that she will no longer submit to pay toll in the Sound.

Although the number of American vessels engaged in the Baltic trade is comparatively insignificant, their tonnage, and the importance of the commercial relations existing between the United States and the ports of that sea are greater in proportion than the figures represent. During the five years ending December 31st, 1848, 264 American ships only entered the Baltic, but upon their tonnage and cargoes the Sound dues amounted to 570,473 Danish rix-dollars.

The United States not only demur to this tax *per se*, but they complain that by an unjust scale of charges a decided advantage is given to England over them; that while an *ad valorem* duty of about three per cent. is put upon their chief staple, raw cotton, in its transit through the Sound, white cotton twist — of which Great Britain is said to ship from thirty to fifty millions of pounds annually to the Baltic ports — is only charged one per cent. *ad valorem*.

For these reasons a certain number of memorialists addressed Congress in 1853, when, after taking a general

view of the question, they concluded by calling upon that body to "adopt prompt and efficient measures to abate this imposition, believing it to be a paramount object of the Government, and its imperative duty, to remove every obstacle to a free commercial intercourse with every part of the world to vessels sailing under the American flag." Influenced, probably, by the reasons embodied in that memorial, the Government of the United States, after commencing negotiations on the subject, and while the matter was still under consideration, formally declared to Denmark some months ago that they would not continue to pay the Sound dues after the expiration of a year's notice (stipulated by treaty), expiring in the spring of 1856.

Thus stands the question at present between the two countries. There can be no doubt that the Americans have reasonable grounds for being discontented with the impost; but the moment they have chosen for bringing the matter to an abrupt conclusion is as objectionable as their manner of doing so, and the provoking, not to say menacing, attitude they assumed towards Denmark is as little justified by the circumstances as it is sanctioned by the laws of international courtesy.* We are no advocates for that round-about diplomacy which often loses itself in mazes of its own creation, or, by an excess of cunning, catches its own head in the trap it sets to grip the leg of another; but we think that a frank and straightforward communication between nations, when combined with suavity, is a much more effectual method

* The above was written before the appearance of Mr. Marcy's note, dated November 3, 1855.

of bringing subjects under discussion to satisfactory conclusions, than by assuming a *brusquerie* which is as undignified on the one part, as it is wounding on the other. Unfortunately the United States, in their relations with other countries, have latterly adopted a tone which savours very much of braggadocio, and in this particular instance their conduct towards Denmark looks very like the big boy giving the little one a kick when he is down.

How the affair is to terminate between the two countries futurity will decide; but if Denmark be sacrificed, if Europe permit her to be robbed of so great a portion of her revenues without a proper and equitable indemnity, such an act will be recorded hereafter in the pages of history as one of the grossest injustice. We do not uphold the Sound dues, for they are objectionable in principle, and unsound in policy; but as the strong nations of Europe perpetuated them to suit their own purposes in 1815—when a favourable opportunity presented itself of getting rid of them altogether without inflicting one half of the injury on Denmark that was done by depriving her of Norway—they are bound by all the ties of honour and good faith to see that she is properly remunerated should they decide on abolishing the objectionable toll.

Could some equitable arrangement be made, we are convinced that none of the parties to it would rejoice so much as the Danes themselves; and we believe that ultimately their own prosperity would be infinitely increased, from the general expansion of commerce that would follow a removal of the pressure now weighing so heavily on the Baltic trade.

CHAP. XIV.

NORTHERN ANTIQUITIES. — THE "STONE AGE." — PHYSICAL CHANGES IN DENMARK. — CROMLECHS AND GIANTS' CHAMBERS. — SUPPOSED USES OF CROMLECHS. — SIMILAR REMAINS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

THERE is perhaps no study more profoundly interesting than the early history of a country, illustrated by antiquities, handed down from remote ages long before events were recorded in written language. There is something peculiarly attractive in those simple memorials which connect the present with the distant past, even when they are brought before us in isolated examples; but when we find hundreds of them collected together, arranged and classified by the learned archæologist in such a manner that we can with certainty trace, link by link, the chain which attaches our own generation with races that existed a thousand years before the birth of Christ, a fountain of instruction and pleasure is opened to us of the most agreeable kind.

All European countries possess more or less of these valuable materials for throwing light on the character and habits of their early inhabitants; but to this, one of the smallest kingdoms amongst them, is due the glory of having taken the initiative of collecting, sorting, and disentangling, the numerous shreds of antiquity, and of

weaving them into a connected fabric, on which is stamped the primeval history of Denmark.

England has especially neglected to take advantage, nationally, of the means at her disposal for prosecuting antiquarian researches; and whilst boasting her high civilization, and the possession of unbounded wealth, she permits a small and comparatively obscure country to show her a bright example in creating a fine museum of national antiquities, and to outstrip her in pecuniary liberality, by proclaiming to finders that the full value will be given for all ancient objects in the precious metals, and a fair remuneration for such articles as may possess no intrinsic worth. Thus encouraged, the class of people that usually discover such objects have come forward, and the result has proved most gratifying in the formation of an unrivalled collection of Scandinavian antiquities at Copenhagen.

We had several times visited this museum before our excursion through the islands, but postponed making a final examination until we had seen the country and localities where its contents were found. Our interest was not a little increased by the lucid explanations of Councillor Thomsen and Mr. Krebs, who accompanied us over it, and gave all the information we desired, with the same kindness we so often experienced elsewhere in Denmark.

The antiquities fill ten or twelve rooms of the Christiansborg Palace, and are arranged under five heads. The first, which consists of implements and weapons of stone or flint, commences at a date conjectured to be at least a thousand years before the birth of Christ, and terminates five hundred years anterior to that event. This is deno-

minated the "stone age." The second ranges from five hundred years before, to about five hundred after, the Christian era; and from the circumstance of weapons and other articles of bronze having been generally used during that period, it is called the "bronze age." The third, beginning in the sixth, terminates in the tenth century, and is named the "iron age," from that metal having then been in use. The fourth consists of relics, principally of Christianity, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries; and the fifth extends from the latter date to the Reformation.

The contents of the three first divisions have been dug out of the earth, or discovered in ancient tombs of the country. They belong exclusively to the pagan times of Denmark, and are by far the most interesting portion of the collection.

The first room we entered contained a great variety of objects belonging to the earliest period, consisting of arrow, hammer, and spear-heads, axes, knives, chisels, gouges, and fish-hooks of flint or stone, neatly executed, and in some instances displaying considerable taste and skill; the more remarkable from the fact of their having necessarily been made with tools of the same material.

The nature of these implements, and the substance of which they are composed, at once indicate a people in a savage state, who obtained their subsistence by hunting and fishing; many of the articles bearing the strongest resemblance to those used up to the present day by the rudest of the South Sea Islanders. I have myself received from the hands of Polynesian savages, arrow-heads of flint, exactly resembling those made in Scandinavia thirty

centuries ago, while the New Zealander would be puzzled to decide that some of the ancient axes of the North were not produced by members of his own tribe.

Most of the objects are polished; but some are in a rough state. The very process adopted for polishing is brought beneath our eyes; for there lies an axe-head in the hollowed stone, where it was partly ground three thousand years ago, as though the hand had suddenly been arrested, leaving the work unfinished. Considerable ingenuity is displayed in the method by which the holes in the hammer-heads were bored. There is a specimen in the museum showing that the boring was commenced on both sides to meet in the centre, the partially drilled apertures still existing on the opposite faces of the stone.

Some of the axes have evidently been repaired, for we find them with the cutting edge ground at a different angle from the original surface. They are of various sizes, wedge-shaped, and were probably used as much in war as for other purposes. They must have been attached to wooden handles, in a similar way to that adopted in the New Zealand axes, examples of which hang in the museum. These hatchets could scarcely have been adapted to felling large trees, which were doubtless brought down by means of fire applied to the lower part of their trunks, a very common usage amongst savage nations, but they were of great service in splitting wood, and hollowing out the rude canoes or cobles used for fishing.

Each knife, with its handle, being formed of a single piece of flint, enables us to decide on the size of the hands, and therefore, in some degree, on the stature of the people. The space for grasping is shorter than ne-

cessary for an ordinary sized man of the present day in Denmark, from which it might be inferred that the earliest inhabitants were much more diminutive, did not the few skulls and skeletons of the period, still existing, show them to have been about the middle size. We may, therefore, presume that they were of a delicately formed race, not short, but very far removed in physical development from the giants with whom, tradition says, the land was peopled in early times.

From geological observations it is clear that Denmark was originally submerged; that it was thrown by a convulsion of Nature above the level of the sea, and afterwards went through several gradations of vegetable productiveness, until its soil and climate became suited to the growth of the oak and the beech, which then spread in stately forests over the surface of the country, leaving the coasts alone comparatively free; and it is conjectured that this higher, and present class of vegetation has existed for several thousand years. There are, however, no data on which to ground the belief that the land was inhabited prior to the last change, though the northern antiquaries think it probable that the people of the stone age were not the first inhabitants, but had been preceded by Nomadic tribes, who were still less advanced in civilization than themselves.

That the coasts alone were occupied during the stone age is evident from the general absence of the characteristic graves in the interior. Localities bordering the sea would naturally be chosen by a race unacquainted with agriculture from the facilities for obtaining food, as well by fishing as by hunting, in the neighbouring forests.

The most important memorials of the stone age are the graves, called Cromlechs (*Steendysser*), and Giants' Chambers (*Jættestuer*). The former vary much in size and shape, the long cromlechs being generally from sixty to a hundred, but sometimes reaching even four hundred, feet in length, by from sixteen to forty feet in breadth; while the circular cromlechs are much smaller. All, however, have the same character, as they appear to have had the same destination.

Each cromlech consists of several large flat stones arranged edgewise on a mound of earth, and capped by a huge fragment of rock, often from thirty to forty feet in circumference, thus forming a sepulchral chamber wherein the bodies of the dead were placed, mostly in the sitting posture, with their backs to the wall. Every stone of these chambers is found to be smooth and flat on the inner side, while the opposite, or outside, is rough. Warsaae* conjectures, from so generally finding this even surface, that the people must have been acquainted with a method of splitting these large blocks, but there are no marks on them to confirm such a supposition; and it seems more probable that they were deposited on the surface of the submerged country in their present state by those fields of ice which brought them from the north, for they are all erratic, and of such a shape as fragments might be when split from the parent rock. These tombs were carefully enclosed by large stones, and from the form of this outer fence is derived the denomination of *long* or *round* cromlech. The long cromlechs sometimes contain two or even three chambers.

* Warsaae's Primeval Antiquities of Denmark, translated by W. J. Thoms.

The Giants' Chamber differs from the cromlech in being somewhat larger, in having a long passage of stone leading to the interior, and from the whole being covered with a mound of earth forming a tumulus. Some of these tumuli also contain two chambers with separate entrances.

Skeletons of unburnt bodies, implements of stone and flint, amber beads, various ornaments, and earthenware vases, have been found in all these tombs, which are not only interesting as showing the degree of civilization attained by the people, but from indicating that they possessed ideas of a future state, as they buried by the warrior's side weapons and various articles thought necessary to him in another existence. This custom is general amongst savage tribes even at the present day, while in all parts of the world nations in an unenlightened and barbarous condition have been found to sacrifice the friends or servants of their deceased chiefs, in order that they might be properly attended on their entrance into the next world. Such might have been the case in Scandinavia, and would at once account satisfactorily for the fact of the cromlechs and giants' chambers containing several skeletons.

After the corpses were deposited, these ancient tombs were filled with earth, or clay mixed with gravel, which was then trodden into a compact mass. Now it appears very improbable that a people who first raised these Cyclopean mausoleums in honour of their chiefs, and then carefully filled them, would (as some writers conjecture) again disturb the remains of such important personages, for the purpose of interring other individuals.

Moreover, all tribes in a similar stage of mental deve-

lopment to the aborigines of Denmark have a superstitious veneration for the abodes of death, and it seems probable that the walls surrounding the cromlechs had their origin in this feeling, and that the space within those precincts was considered sacred; — an additional reason for supposing that the bodies were all placed in such tombs at the same time, and that they either consisted of a chief, and attendants sacrificed at his death, or of warriors killed in the same battle.

It is surprising that a people without knowledge of mechanical science could have moved the enormous blocks of stone found in many of these monuments. The sites for their erection were doubtless chosen near the spots where the largest or roof stones were found; but the difficulty of raising these, even on to their supporting walls, must have been very great. The process was most likely of the simplest kind, such as forming an inclined plane to the height required, and dragging the stone with ropes of hide over rollers to the top, a method adopted by the ancient Egyptians when far advanced in civilization. To accomplish such a work, however, great numbers, and a certain amount of instruction, would be required; for the art of throwing all the weight of a large body of people simultaneously on to the tractors could be acquired only by practice. Levers might also have been used, but in either case the inclined plane must have been previously paved or laid with trunks of trees.

Some have described these monuments as altars for the sacrifices resorted to in the primitive worship of the Scandinavians. M. Mallet says: "We find at this day here and there in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, in the

middle of a plain, or upon some little hill, altars around which they (the ancient Scandinavians), assembled to offer sacrifices, and assist at other religious ceremonies. The greater part of these altars are raised upon a little hill, either natural or artificial. Three long pieces of rock set upright serve for a basis to a great flat stone, which forms the table of the altar. There is commonly a pretty large cavity under this altar, which may have been intended to receive the blood of victims."

Others, again, suppose the cromlechs to have been places of judgment, or *Thingsteads*, where legislative assemblies were held, and where the people congregated to elect their kings. The long cromlechs especially are considered by these writers as the localities for such meetings, and the stones of the large enclosures regarded as seats for the members of the *Thing*.

All these notions have, we think, been successfully combated by Warsaae, who shows clearly that the roof stones of the mortuary chambers are generally rounded at the top, and ill adapted for the performance of sacrificial rites, while the interstices between the fragments of rock which support them were carefully filled, so that no blood could have run through. Nor do the rough and often pointed pieces of rock forming the great enclosures, appear to have been intended for seats; independent of which, the situation and distribution of the cromlechs preclude the idea of their having been used as places of judgment or assembly; for while in some instances more than a hundred may be found in one locality, other districts, well known to have been peopled in remote antiquity, have no monuments whatever of the kind.

The belief which prevailed amongst archæologists that the hatchets and other implements found in the tombs were instruments of sacrifice, has also vanished; fresh discoveries having unfolded additional facts rendering such a supposition highly improbable. Many of the tools bear evidences of having been much used; some of the axes have been broken and reground, while a diversity of small articles could never have had any connection with sacrificial rites.

The earthenware vases placed with the bodies probably contained food, and the scattered bones of various animals discovered in the mortuary chambers may be the remains of certain parts deposited also as food; for the absence of complete skeletons precludes the idea of these animals having been buried with the deceased.

The ornaments of the stone period seen in the museum, are of the simplest kind, the most precious amongst them consisting of pieces of amber pierced, and doubtless worn as beads; some of these are rough, others formed like hammer-heads or axes.

A knife of flint particularly attracted our attention: it is about the size of an ordinary carving knife, elegant in shape, curved at the end, and engraved on each side of the blade with considerable taste, showing wonderful skill considering the simple tools with which the work was executed. How so long and delicate a fragment of flint could have been split off, and afterwards worked to so fine an edge with such inadequate means, is indeed astonishing.

The people of the "stone age" were not confined to Southern Scandinavia, for cromlechs are found along the north-west and west coasts of Europe, the southern shores of the Baltic, in Ireland and Britain, all having

similar contents to those of Denmark. But in Norway and the north of Sweden this kind of tomb does not exist, although implements and weapons of stone are found in those countries, as well as in Southern Europe, and even in the tumuli of the Mississippi Valley in North America. Some of the implements discovered in the latter—especially the flint knives—bear an exact resemblance to those of Denmark; but we cannot infer from this circumstance alone, that the same race inhabited these widely separated countries; for we have already shown, when examining the contents of the Ethnographical Museum, that nations the farthest removed from each other, with the same wants, and their faculties in a like stage of development, arrive at similar results in their first feeble essays at art, of which the close similarity between the Scandinavian and New Zealand productions in stone affords another striking example. It may, however, be reasonably presumed that the southern coast of the Baltic, Hanover, the north of Holland, England, and Ireland, where the cromlechs are found, were inhabited by the same race as that of the stone age in Denmark.

CHAP. XV.

THE "BRONZE AGE."—HOLY RINGS.—MODE OF BURIAL.—TEUTONIC AND DRUIDIC MYTHOLOGIES.—BRONZE WEAPONS AND ORNAMENTS.—THE IRON AGE.—GOLDEN ORNAMENTS.—EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD.—LATER CHRISTIAN PERIOD.

PASSING into the next apartment we found ourselves surrounded by memorials of the bronze age. Here were weapons enough to arm a regiment; and, amongst them, hundreds of short, pointed, two-edged swords. Mr. Krebs called our attention to the size of the handles, which were small and short, like the knife-handles of the stone period; so that the people using these, must also have been of moderate stature. These swords are all without guards, and some of them are beautifully ornamented.

Battle-axes, spear-heads, daggers, and shields of admirable workmanship, also illustrate the advanced state of art which existed at this period. The shields are circular, vary from about eighteen inches to two feet in diameter, and display on their faces ornamental designs. They are composed of thin plates of bronze, strengthened round the edge with thick wire; so that, while offering considerable resistance to the blow of a sword, they are light enough to be used for a long time without fatiguing, and could be moved with rapidity during the combat. The most remarkable objects, however, in this department are several

long, curved, trumpets of bronze, called *lures*, which are supposed to have been used in war for giving the signal of attack. They are about six feet in length, are prettily ornamented, and some of them in so good a state of preservation, that they can still be played upon. A small leather case, containing surgical instruments, is very curious. The other articles in bronze principally consist of necklaces, bracelets, brooches, and ornaments for the head and hair. There is also a crown of the same metal, which probably encircled the brow of a pagan king.

Trinkets and other objects of gold, but none of silver, are discovered in the same tombs with those of bronze. These, by the wise regulations of the Danish Government, find their way into this museum, which they would probably never reach under ordinary circumstances. They consist, generally, of solid masses formed into necklaces, bracelets, girdles, chains, diadems, and rings for the fingers and neck. One of the neck-collars weighs three pounds. Many of these objects are beautifully executed, particularly the girdles and diadems. The former are supposed to have decorated the persons of pagan gods.

Two rings of solid gold are particularly interesting: they are too large and massive for armlets, but not of sufficient size for the neck; and are therefore conjectured to be the holy rings usually placed on the pagan altars. Each consists of a bar of gold — with a boss at either end — bent into a circle, so that the bosses nearly touch each other. They were regarded with great veneration by the people, who touched them on taking an oath, as we kiss the Testament, to render the act sacred and binding.

There are evidences that portions of the bracelets and

necklaces were used, in barter, as a substitute for money, at a period before a coinage existed. The whole of the gold articles above enumerated were not found in graves, many having been discovered in fields and elsewhere; and most of them belong to a period subsequent to the bronze age: but these two metals only are found together in the tombs of that period, while silver appears in connection with iron, and was therefore introduced into the country at a later date than gold.

In this division are also numerous cinerary urns of rough earthenware, many of them still containing fragments of calcined bones, amidst which small articles of bronze or gold were generally found.

The northern antiquaries have arrived, by a series of careful observations and deductions, at the conclusion that the transition from stone to bronze was not by a gradual change, such as might be expected to arise through a progressive increase of knowledge conducting the same people from a low to a higher point of civilisation, but that the introduction of weapons and other implements of bronze was sudden, and accompanied by circumstances which leave very little doubt of the arrival in the country of a new and a conquering race, who were not only farther advanced in the arts, but followed a different religion to the aborigines, and introduced customs that did not previously exist.

The archæologists have principally sought for and found the evidences on which their conclusions are based, in the numerous graves scattered over the country. Of these we have already noticed the cromlechs and giants' chambers in which implements of *stone alone* are found with human

skeletons. Weapons and articles of *bronze*, however, are discovered in graves of a totally different description. Instead of the body of the deceased being deposited in a mortuary chamber, the corpse was burned, the ashes were then carefully collected and placed in a cinerary urn or small stone cist, over which were piled loose stones in a conical heap, while these again were covered with a mound of earth. The bronze weapons and other objects too large to be put into the urn, were deposited near it, and included within the same barrow. Such a mode of burial indicates a marked revolution in the ideas of the people; and as the ceremonies and modes of interment have ever been closely connected with religion, we may safely decide that so important a change in the former must have been accompanied with a corresponding alteration of the latter.

Who these people exactly were, or whence precisely they came at so remote a period as five hundred years before Christ, is a question that will perhaps remain wrapt in obscurity; but there can be little doubt of their having belonged to some one of the races that migrated from the East, and who had probably left the wide tracts of Asia long before their appearance in Scandinavia; nor is it certain that the first tribes of the bronze age were not, in turn, chased from their new home, or absorbed into another conquering nation. Some are, indeed, of opinion, that several changes of this description took place in Denmark, although the uniformity in the mode of burial for a thousand years, the supposed duration of the bronze age, is opposed to this hypothesis.

It is, however, unquestionable that the modern Danes are descended from the Teutonic or Gothic race, for they

possess in a marked degree not only the physiological and psychological characteristics of that branch of the Caucasian variety of the human species, but glossology also steps in to confirm the fact. The Celts are usually thought to have been the first people who travelled westward, and the Slavonians are believed to have followed; but neither of these nations penetrated into Scandinavia. After overcoming both of them, it remained for the adventurous Teutons to send a branch of their race to the northern regions, who expelled or enslaved the earlier inhabitants.

Some writers believe this conquered people to have been the Tshuds, a tribe of the Arctic variety of the human species, from which the modern Lapps are descended, and to which the Finns and various other tribes belong. These Tshuds are identified, by such writers, as the people of the "stone age" inhabiting Jutland, the Danish islands, and the south-west of Sweden; but several facts are opposed to this conclusion, amongst the most convincing of which is the absence of the characteristic monuments of the "stone period" in all those countries known to have been occupied by the Tshuds, especially in Norway and the north of Sweden, as well as in the regions possessed at the present day by their descendants.

Without bringing forward all the reasons adduced by learned antiquaries in objection to this hypothesis, we think there is ample evidence to prove that the tribe which inhabited Southern Scandinavia during the "stone age" was not of *Tshudic* origin; although the researches hitherto carried on, whether craniological, glossological, or archæological, have produced insufficient materials for deciding to what race it really appertained.

There are also equally good grounds for rejecting the supposition that the aborigines of Denmark were *Celts.* Warsaae conjectures, "on the contrary, that they belonged to an older and still unknown race, who in the course of time disappeared before the immigrations of more powerful nations, without leaving behind them any memorials, except the cromlechs of stone in which they deposited their dead, and the implements which by the nature of their materials were protected from decay."

Nor can the idea which has been advanced that the people of the "bronze age" were Celtic be for a moment entertained; for, independent of many other powerful opposing reasons, it is certain that the religions of the Scandinavians and Celts were very different. The former were worshippers of Odin, or Wodin, the chief god of the Teutons, with other subordinate deities, while the latter followed the Druidic mythology. Bishop Percy has clearly shown that the rites and ceremonies of these two religions differed widely from each other, although a resemblance, common to nearly all pagan beliefs, could be traced in some of their observances. The fundamental doctrines also, and the constitution of the priesthood, were totally dissimilar.

The Teutons exercised no concealment, while the Druids enveloped the tenets of their creed in a cloak of profound secrecy, through which the laity were not permitted to penetrate. In the Teutonic mythology, the only tree regarded with any particular respect seems to have been the ash, while in the Druidic, the oak and the mistletoe were held in the highest esteem, and towards the latter especially was observed the deepest veneration; it was

looked upon as a plant with Divine attributes, and as an object so sacred that it could not even be gathered without going through certain ceremonies. The Teutons, on the other hand, appear to have regarded the mistletoe rather with contempt than with any feeling of respect.

The philological are quite as strong as the mythological reasons in support of the opinion that the Scandinavians of the latter part of the bronze age were of Gothic or Teutonic origin; but when to these we add the evidence unfolded by archæology, the arguments become so powerful, and the inferences so clear, as to amount to demonstration. It seems even probable that the same race occupied the country during the greater part, if not the whole, of that period.

The introduction of bronze implements did not immediately and completely supersede those of stone, the latter having continued in use a long time after, amongst the mass of the people, which fact leads to the presumption that the aborigines were subdued and enslaved, but not driven away by their conquerors, and that the former still retained their stone tools for all ordinary purposes; for we cannot suppose that the more advanced race would, after expelling a less civilized nation, adopt their rude manufactures. The ignorant of the present day cling with prejudiced tenacity to an inferior implement in preference to a superior one which they are not accustomed to, even when the latter is within their reach; how improbable is it, therefore, that man would descend in the scale, and make use of clumsy weapons or tools of stone, after having learned the value and convenience of those in metal?

The tendency of the human intellect, in its dark and uncultivated state, is to remain stationary, after necessity has compelled it to exercise the inventive faculties to an extent sufficient for the wants of the individual and the preservation of the species. Without going so far as those ethnologists who assert that no savage tribe can possibly generate a civilizing impulse within itself, but requires the assistance and instruction of another race to drag it a step above its degradation, we maintain that such an impulse could only be the offspring of some great change in geographical position or otherwise, giving rise to new and urgent wants, while at the same time the materials necessary to a higher civilization were at hand to work upon. The step having been once taken, however, and the knowledge of metals gained, man would never retrograde from choice, as he would thereby create for himself greater difficulties, and thus increase the cares of existence; yet it is possible that a weaker nation might be forced by a stronger one into a position where, hemmed in by hostile neighbours, and cut off from a supply of metals, there would be no alternative but to make use of such other material as presented itself. Could this have been the condition of the Scandinavian people at the beginning of the "bronze age"? We must suppose so, if the hypothesis that the aborigines were chased entirely from the country be admitted, for there is then no other probable way of accounting for the stone implements continuing to be used.

Denmark itself produces neither copper nor tin, the components of bronze; the metal was therefore imported at first, doubtless, in the shape of ready-made weapons. But that objects in bronze were manufactured in the

country at a later period cannot be questioned, for a vessel filled with the clay that formed part of its mould, and small pieces of bronze called castings — having the form of the apertures through which the liquid metal was poured, and which were afterwards removed — are to be seen amongst the findings in this collection,—trifles in themselves, but leading to the establishment of a very interesting fact; for it has been reasonably concluded that neither the clay nor the castings would have been introduced from foreign countries, while as if to confirm the point of home manufacture, collections of broken implements and ornaments have been found, apparently intended for smelting.

There is great skill displayed in the construction of the objects in bronze, some of the finer specimens being inlaid with gold, while the ornamental designs are tasteful, and the execution good.* It is impossible here to describe, or even enumerate, all the objects in this section of the museum; but enough has been said to show that the race or races succeeding those of the stone age, were much farther advanced in civilization than their predecessors. Their possession of metal enabled them to fell trees and penetrate to the interior of the country, which had before been occupied only on the coasts and banks of rivers; and that they did so penetrate to the interior is shown by the situation of the barrows. Agriculture could also be pursued on a scale impossible when stone implements alone existed, while a way was prepared for that still higher civilization, only to be attained after the introduction of iron.

* For greater details we can refer the reader with confidence to M. Warsaae's interesting work.

On arriving in the department of the museum devoted to the third division of antiquities, denominated the "iron age," we were surprised to observe so few swords and other weapons, compared with those of stone or bronze. Still, this section is rich in objects, comprising in particular a great variety of ornaments in silver, a metal never found in the barrows of the second period, or in connection with bronze. Bits, stirrups, and other portions of horse trappings in iron are here; ornaments of brass, beads of different materials, and some glass articles, supposed to be amulets, of that manufacture called mosaic, lately produced in England in the shape of letter-weights, &c., the art of making which had been lost for centuries.

Here are also some goblets of glass, and a drinking-cup of silver, probably the very vessels over which many a chief had pledged himself to deeds of heroism, and while quaffing the mead or ale so grateful to his taste, had longed for that hour which should usher him into Odin's palace, where daily, after feasting on the boar Sæhrimnir, he might drink deeply of his favourite beverage out of the "curved horn," kept constantly filled by the Valkyrior — those virgins who waited at the table of the heroes — for such were the joys aspired to by every Northern warrior — such were the hopes which carried him with undaunted bravery into the thick of the fight, and made him leave the battle with regret, when there was no longer a chance of meeting the sought-for death and its glorious reward.

The "iron age," like the two preceding ones, was accompanied with a characteristic mode of interment; the bodies were no longer burned, but deposited in barrows,

which, however, differ in other respects but little from those of the bronze period. It was the custom at this time to bury his horse with a deceased chief; skeletons of man and horse having generally been found in the tumuli of Denmark, and with them the weapons, stirrups, bits, and harness ornaments, now in the museum.

The transition from bronze to iron was probably gradual, both metals being used simultaneously during a long period, while it does not appear that any change took place in the inhabitants at this time, for there are no facts whereon to decide the influx of a fresh race. The antiquities and tombs of the iron age are so much rarer than the earlier ones, that archæologists have not been able to accumulate sufficient evidence to define many points of interest; still they have gathered enough to lead them to important general conclusions.

Iron was used in Norway and the north of Sweden much earlier than in Denmark, which was perhaps the last country to adopt it in Europe.

The progress made during the "bronze age" in agriculture, navigation, and barter, prepared the people for the next stage of civilization. It is supposed that iron was introduced into the country about the beginning of the sixth century, through some neighbouring nation, but it did not become general until two hundred years after; so that but three centuries remain before the universal adoption of Christianity to complete the period over which what is called the "iron age" extended.

An entire change is now observed in the workmanship and designs of the objects; the swords are longer, and made with guards, the handles being elaborately deco-

rated; the battle-axes, spear-heads, and other implements, are simple in form, and have not the beautiful ornamental work found in the same description of bronze weapons. Those of iron appear to have been really made for use; indeed, this period might with propriety have been denominated the "heroic age" of Scandinavia, for it was the epoch when those Viking expeditions obtained such a development as to render the Northmen a scourge and terror to Europe. It was from these maritime attacks—as acutely arranged as they were suddenly and boldly executed—that the sea rovers returned laden with the spoils of richer lands. The quantity of solid gold ornaments shown in the collection, and still constantly found, attest to this fact. It is therefore very questionable whether the workmanship of the trinkets or ornaments of the iron age can be regarded as signs of indigenous taste, for it is more than probable that they were part of the booty brought into the country by the Vikings; many of them being of intricate and beautiful designs, indicating a great advance in art. Of some golden ornaments, which properly belong to this period, we have spoken under the bronze head.

Warsaae believes that the profusion of gold known to have existed in the North at this time might have been derived as much from the profits of peaceful trading with the neighbouring countries as from the plunder of the Vikings; but we can scarcely suppose that nations whose coasts were constantly subjected to the hostile incursions of the hardy and adventurous Scandinavians, would, at the same time, have kept up those friendly relations which are necessary to commercial intercourse.

A perpetual war against all they could attack, whether near or distant, aggravated by a spirit of relentless cruelty, created throughout western and south-western Europe a horror and dread of the Vikings, and of the very name of their country,—feelings likely to prevent their being received or even tolerated in any way whatever by their neighbours.

This daring and exciting life, however, developed the energies and stimulated the faculties of the Scandinavians. They undertook more distant expeditions, and increased the size of their ships, so that industrial movement and the cultivation of the mechanical arts were extended. Nor could they fail to derive knowledge from the more civilized races with whom they came in contact, which, by gradually changing their ideas and softening their manners, prepared them for another and greater revolution through the agency of Christianity.

The "iron age," even, is far removed from the authentic written history of the North; but the people then came so often in contact with the South, that scraps of information concerning them have been gathered here and there, which throw some light upon their character and habits.

The change in the mode of burying the dead at this period, by interring the corpse unburnt, is singular, for it appears to have been associated with no alteration of religion, but rather with an increased ardour in carrying out the peculiar tenets of a mythology, which incited its followers to acts of daring and violence. It is difficult to account for the introduction of this custom, simultaneously with the use of iron, unaccompanied by any change of religion or race; but it is possible that more extended

researches may show that during the greater part of this period bodies were burned, and the ashes disposed of, as in the bronze age, while the interments of unburned corpses were the exceptions rather than the rule.

That Christianity had made some progress in the North at the beginning of the ninth century is undoubted, for Anscarius pushed his way into Scandinavia at that epoch, and he was not the first missionary who promulgated the new doctrines; it is not, therefore, improbable that some Northern chiefs were converted, of whom history knows nothing; that their bodies were buried unburnt; and that the custom thus commenced was followed by other persons, until it became general,—which was certainly the case at the latter end of the "iron age," when the use of large burial-places was adopted, and the raising of tumuli over the dead abandoned. The barrows with wooden mortuary chambers are also referred by Northern antiquaries to the same period. That the people were, however, still in a state of great barbarism, might be inferred from the fact of this section of the museum containing a flute made of the arm bone of a man.

We now come to the early Christian period, beginning about the year 1000, and extending to the thirteenth century. The priestly appurtenances here display an extreme simplicity, indicating the unpretending manner in which the first pioneers of the new religion pursued their calling, and the unostentatious means they took to create respect for themselves and their doctrines. There are numerous church ornaments; amongst them, a beautifully enamelled dove, that contained the holy wafer on which the people in those days were sworn. A bronze altar of the

eleventh century also struck us as curious. The weapons of knightly warriors, and a hundred other objects arrest one's steps, but afford much more interest in the examination than their description here would possess.

Amongst the articles of the early Christian period, perhaps the most interesting are some kalendars carved in Runic characters on smooth sticks. They show by various marks and lines the fasts, festivals, golden numbers, &c., and were called *prim-staffs*. These, with inscriptions on stones, formerly gave rise to discussion as to whether the Runic character emanated from the Scandinavians themselves, or was introduced by the Christian missionaries. The latter opinion was maintained by some writers of learning, although, *à priori*, it would appear extremely doubtful whether anyone possessing a written language, as the missionaries must have done, would have resorted to the singular expedient of inventing a new set of signs to introduce amongst an unlettered race, when their own would have answered every purpose. Undoubted Runic inscriptions of the pagan days having been more recently discovered in different parts of Scandinavia, seem to have decided the question in favour of the *Runes* being of Scandinavian origin.

In the last division, beginning at the thirteenth century, and ending at the Reformation, we observe an immense change. The rich sacerdotal robes, the crosiers glittering with precious stones, the splendid illuminated volume for the altar, with cover of choicest ivory carving, and golden border studded with rarest gems, form the strongest contrast to the plain and modest accoutrements of the earlier Christian soldier, who, clothing himself in humility,

and armed with faith, required neither gaudy trappings nor other weapons to bring him triumphant out of the battle.

The costly vestments of his successors, indeed, well represent that period, when the Church in Denmark had assumed an arrogant and overbearing position in the State —when Kings were defied and nobles excommunicated, and when with blind infatuation so haughty a tone was adopted by the priesthood as finally to lead to their overthrow.

Here is an absolution letter of the middle of the fifteenth century, particularly interesting from being the oldest example of printing in Denmark. As a specimen of advancement in the art of working metals, we noticed the armour of King Waldemar. Conspicuous also amongst the rare objects here collected, are the numerous drinking horns of varied shapes, in every kind of metal; many of great value, and some extremely curious. We blush to name it, still we must record the fact, that the largest amongst them were pointed out to us as having belonged to the priests.

We took our last look through this collection with regret; for although the Councillor Thomsen and Mr. Krebs had taken much trouble to point out and explain, at our several visits, every object of interest, there was still much that we should have liked more closely to have examined.

The value of the antiquary's labour—but a short time since almost despised—is now beginning to be properly appreciated. His researches have, indeed, an importance far beyond the interest excited by merely contemplating the memorials of the primeval ages, however great that interest

may be. In an extended sense, archæology forms the link which connects geology with ethnology, giving to and deriving from them strength and assistance in the noble study of the origin of nations. Many of the facts divulged by each of these sciences, although uncertain in their bearings when isolated, nevertheless dovetail so well when brought into juxtaposition, that they form a solid basis whereon a connected and intelligible history of the infancy of nations can be raised. They rend asunder the filmy veil thrown by tradition over antiquity, and place before us in a practical, matter-of-fact way, the real habits and doings of our remote predecessors, whom imagination had invested with different and more glowing attributes. They substitute truth for fiction, and fill up the pre-historic vacuum with matter new and luminous, which diffuses light where all before was dark, confused, and vague.

CHAP. XVI.

THORVALDSEN'S MUSEUM. — THE POWER OF GENIUS. — THORVALDSEN LIVES IN HIS WORKS. — THE SCULPTOR'S EARLY CAREER. — HIS FAME AND HIS LOVE.

WE have seen in the Northern Antiquities' Museum the infant arts of Scandinavia displayed in the simplest articles — the climax of man's ingenuity in the dark ages of this land. We cross the road, and step over three thousand years. Could we trace in those rude implements of stone a spark of that intellectual fire which has from the same material fashioned the forms all-beauteous now around us? Could we find in those simple shapes the germs of that glowing genius which has produced these outlines of such thrilling gracefulness? Could we see, in those early products of the hand, evidences of that sensitive and delicate tact which has here conjured blocks of shapeless marble into figures exquisite? Those antiquities were the beginning — are these productions of refined loveliness the consummation of the sculptor's art in Scandinavia? The one class is from the other as far removed, as the first irregular lines traced by the trembling hand of childhood, are from the sublime conceptions embodied in the paintings of a Raphael. Yet in both cases the fingers followed but the inspirations of intellect: in the one, nascent

and untaught; in the other, expanded wide, and educated.

We stand in the Museum of Thorvaldsen, surrounded by hundreds of this immortal Danish master's glorious works; which appear more like exhalations from that undefinable principle "beauty," than creations from the brain of man. We wander from room to room wrapped in a species of enchantment; — grace, nature, all but life are here. Look at yon Ganymede! the very poetry of attitude is personified in that supple form, bending to support the vessel from which the eagle of Jupiter is feeding. Worthy is this Phrygian youth of being cup-bearer to the gods, successor even to the fair, ever-blooming Hebe. The bird, too! How full of fiery, vital eagerness! How light and ethereal! Yet what strength of wing! Power and spirit, indeed, are there portrayed sufficient to carry the son of Tros from Mount Ida through the air to famed Olympus!

Behold that group of Graces, and say which of the three virgins is least beautiful, — Thalia, Euphrosyne, and Aglaia; — each alternately enamours while you gaze, and each yields again in turn to the loveliness of a sister. In positions though varied, yet not less graceful; with expressions though different, still vying in sweetness; all in sympathetic harmony combine to inspire that rapturous, almost saddening admiration, which in such works, genius of the highest order alone can awaken.

Go contemplate that statue of Venus, and wonder how any soulless thing can be so beautiful, yet whether there exist a living form so perfect. How delicately moulded are the limbs! How easy, pliant, and elastic the figure!

What freedom and expression in the gentle curving of the neck! All the graces revel on that brow; upon the cushioned lips play signs of love and softest feeling; the countenance is bursting into animation; while the swelling bosom seems to move. We touch, and start to find but a cold mass of stone.

Here stands proudly erect the chaste "Diana," with features fine, yet passionless. There a colossal "Mars with Cupid," of proportions admirable. Now a nymph, ravishingly winning. Now Apollo, in the fulness of manly, but youthful, beauty. "Mercury watching Argus" holds us spell-bound by its matchless power; and "Psyche," all tenderness, with touching, earnest, imploring persuasiveness, arrests our steps, and winds insidiously her fascinations round the heart. Heathen gods and modern Kings, Roman Emperors and great philosophers, mighty warriors and gentle poets, are found within these walls; and many other groups, not less beautiful than those we name, successively enchain us, and arouse emotions of pleasurable surprise.

Ideality, an immaterial essence of the brain, plays with rude matter, and transforms it into poetry. Imagination sweeps her taper fingers over a block of stone, which forthwith rises up a goddess of form and lineaments so divine, as to make the enchanted gazer "feel, that it would not be idolatry to kneel." If Pygmalion but possessed the genius of Thorvaldsen, we may cease to wonder that the enamoured statuary should have petitioned Love's mother to endow his own pure creation with vitality and soul.

Thorvaldsen's bas-reliefs exhibit the same chastity of

thought, display the same fertility of fancy, and show the same refinement of touch as his other works, and are unsurpassed by the productions of any master, ancient or modern. What can be more exquisite than the piece which represents Cupid endeavouring to rouse Psyche into life by a prick of his dart, after she had been put to death by Venus for robbing the world of her son? Alexander's triumphal entrance into Babylon, forming the frieze of the large hall, is a work of great size and greater talent; while a hundred other specimens, existing on the walls of numerous apartments, we shall not here enumerate, much less describe. These works are not all in marble, many of them being casts only of the sculptor's performances; but the whole bear the stamp of his colossal intellect.

There is a fine bust of the artist himself. The broad high forehead and great head denote the massive brain pregnant with big thoughts and sublime ideas; while an expression of placid benevolence, mingling with intense contemplativeness, give to the features a peculiar softness of character.

In the court of the building is a simple sarcophagus, containing the ashes of Thorvaldsen, and having no inscription but the name. This is well! Indifferent kings may require sumptuous monuments to draw the curious to their graves, and thus recall names that would otherwise be forgotten. Bad characters may need the aid of hypocritical panegyrics written above their dust to conceal, when dead, the vices they did not control in life; but fame traces in golden letters on the indestructible page of immortality, the merits of illustrious genius.

Thorvaldsen is not dead. He lives and breathes in every creation of his intellect. The hand that fashioned rots, but what of that? *It* was nothing but the instrument to guide the chisel. Look at that cold marble, and say what gives it animation, and what within your breast causes such tumultuous pleasure. It is the spirit of Thorvaldses. It is a quality not inherent of the thing; a principle independent of, although connected with, the form which by itself was created. It is an essence that spreads beyond the substance where it dwells, and penetrates the soul of every beholder. It is the spirit of Thorvaldsen which radiates from every atom of that matter.

Mysterious, wondrous power is that which for a time resides within a skull that human hand may grasp; and which, even when its seat has into ultimate material elements dissolved, still maintains a mighty influence over man. Who can compass, even in imagination, what the conceptions of a single brain might effectuate? One lofty inspiration may change a nation's social state; the vibrations of one great idea may shake the universe. See what Alexander, Mahommed, Luther, or Napoleon did! We tremble while thinking of the power contained within so small a space, whereby "a world may be enlightened or a world destroyed."

We have contemplated Thorvaldsen in his *ideal*, we enter a small room and almost fancy that we see him in his *real* existence. What simple personal tastes are indicated by this homely furniture, brought from the sitting-room occupied by him when living! The very chair whereon he sat, the very books in which he read, the familiar objects he was used to look upon, his favourite pictures,—all are here,

and possess more deep and stirring interest than could be found in the costly objects with which men of more luxurious, but less refined feelings surround themselves.

The building containing this invaluable collection is modern, having been erected by subscription for this special object. Externally it is in the Egyptian style, with sloping walls and ample cornice, without "fenestration," and decorated with frescoes representing the welcome given to Thorvaldsen on his arrival to take up a permanent abode in his native land; and the national joy on seeing his works introduced into Denmark. The structure is of large size and good proportions. Its lines are severe, the architect's object being evidently to convey the idea of grandeur and durability; but such never can be imparted to stucco. Internally it consists of a vast hall, large apartments, and corridors, with a series of small rooms, each containing a sculptured group and bas-reliefs; the whole surrounding the great oblong court wherein is placed the sculptor's tomb.

It is a singular circumstance that writers — even during the lifetime of this great man — differ in their accounts respecting his birthplace. While some give it as Iceland, others name Copenhagen, and one author asserts that it was on the passage between these localities that he first saw the light in 1770. Son of an Icelander, who was for some time employed as a wood carver in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen spent all his early days in that city, and cultivated, first under his parent, and then gratuitously in the Academy of Fine Arts, that extraordinary talent with which nature had endowed him. While yet young he obtained the first prize in that admirable institution, with

a travelling studentship, entitling him to a salary for three years, and shortly afterwards he proceeded to Rome, there to pursue his studies and perfect his taste.

Surrounded by the glorious works of ancient and modern art in the "Eternal city;" enraptured and inspired with their beauties, the youthful artist made rapid strides in the development of his genius; but he had no friend or patron who, while appreciating his talent, could furnish him with the means of pursuing his career. His academical income had ceased; still he clung to Rome, struggling with adversity, and sustained by that consciousness of inward power which no physical difficulties could easily overcome. He is said to have found employment for a time in the studio of Canova, then in the zenith of glory, and astonishing the world by his enchanting productions; but the young Dane was destined ultimately to rival the great Italian master.

Naturally desirous of striking out a path for himself, beckoned on by fame, and encouraged by hope, Thorvaldsen took a studio and produced some admirable works, but they were unappreciated, at least by any one of sufficient wealth or influence to benefit the artist. Wounded in feelings, disappointed in aspirations, and assailed by increasing difficulties, even his strong mind was shaken with despair, and he resolved to quit the shores of Italy for his Scandinavian home.

The fates, however, had otherwise decreed. An accidental circumstance prevented his departure on the intended day; an equal accident led an English gentleman to his studio, who there saw the model of "Jason," at once comprehended its vast merits, and ordered its execu-

tion in marble. Thorvaldsen not only received a liberal sum for his work, but retained a generous and admiring patron.

The tide in his affairs, thus "taken at the flood," led "on to fortune"; the trumpet-tongue of fame spread far and wide the reputation of her new-born son; the unknown child of the chilly North awoke and found himself illustrious even in that city of the sunny South, where exalted art had flourished for so many centuries; while the hitherto unfrequented studio was soon crowded with the noble, the rich, and the intellectual. "Who could have predicted to the Greeks two thousand years ago," says a German writer, "that the time would come when a son of the 'ultima Thule' would teach them to animate marble?"

Thorvaldsen never married, though it is said that in youth he had an ardent love for a young and beautiful Danish girl of inferior station, whose mother — little foreseeing in her daughter's suitor the future man of greatness — would not permit them to be united. "But did the successful sculptor forget his humble Maddelane? We will not believe it. Love, even though disappointed, is the artist's best inspirer, and by none are its impressions more lastingly felt. Is it then too much to suppose that, in years of his fame, when high-born beauties have fluttered round his chisel, the features of this lovely maiden may still have been

"'The form of beauty smiling at his heart,'

and, idealised by memory into perfection, may now live

in more, perhaps, than one of those fair creations which fix the admiration of the world?" *

Thorvaldsen was as excellent in private as he was exalted in public life. When he died, in 1844, he left to his country even more than a name. He bequeathed to it the whole of the works in his museum, numerous drawings and etchings, together with a sum of sixty thousand dollars, wherewith to purchase productions of Danish Art. The statues in the Frue Kirke were presented many years previously to his death.

He frequently visited, but did not finally return, to his much-loved native land until 1838, after having accumulated a large fortune. Is it astonishing that, from the King to the peasant, every Danish heart beat quick with pride when welcoming the man who had shed an unfading lustre over the nation? Is it surprising that he was regarded during life with almost superstitious adoration by his countrymen, or that his memory is now cherished with affection bordering on veneration? How emphatically might every Dane exclaim, as Hamlet did of his murdered father —

> "He was a man, take him for all in all,
> I shall not look upon his like again."

* Bremner's Excursions in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden: a very interesting book.

CHAP. XVII.

LEAVE DENMARK FOR SWEDEN. — REACH THE SWEDISH COAST. — GOTTENBURG. — A NAIL IN THE EYE. — A FAVOURABLE OMEN. — TRADE OF GOTTENBURG. — THE GOTTENBURGHERS. — EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS.—COMMERCE OF SWEDEN. — POPULATION AND AGRICULTURE. — SWEDISH HEROINES.

OUR arrangements for leaving Denmark were made, a certificate that no taint of cholera existed in our systems was procured, and we embarked in the steamer "Lubeck" for Gottenburg at 4 P.M. on the 31st of May. As we reached Elsineur a heavy storm arose, which gave us an opportunity of seeing Cronsberg Castle under another aspect, more imposing, but less pleasing, than by the pale moonlight or the reddened tint of the setting sun.

The rain was still pouring down when we descried a fisherman's boat steering towards our vessel. The captain slackened speed to the signal that was hoisted, and soon the boat was alongside. She contained some English ladies and gentlemen who were anxious to take passage in the "Lubeck"; their passports were in rule, and as they came from Helsingborg, in Sweden, there appeared no earthly reason why they should be prevented proceeding to another town in the same country; but our captain thought differently, for as they were not provided with the necessary cholera certificate, he positively refused to receive them on board, so back they went to the shore,

there to take carriage and travel by land to Gottenburg. There was something so utterly absurd in such a regulation that it might have excited ridicule had it not aroused our indignation to see ladies turned away in the midst of such a storm upon so trivial a pretext; and what rendered the whole affair more vexatious was the fact that no case of cholera had been heard of in Europe for several months before.

The mysterious changes continually taking place on the earth's surface are singularly exemplified in the lands between which we steamed. While the coast of Denmark is gradually rising, the opposite shore of Scania is slowly sinking; yet the localities where such different phenomena are in progress are separated only by the waters of the *Sound*, — in some parts but a few miles wide.

The "Lubeck" was a fine steamer, an excellent seaboat, and, moreover, fitted up most comfortably. The sleeping berths were unusually long, so that a tall man could stretch to his full length, — a luxury seldom met with in this class of vessel; the system generally pursued being, to crowd as many passengers as possible into a given space, taking the measurement of a short individual as the standard of length for the bed-places; and thus inflicting upon every unfortunate male passenger, exceeding an average height, a considerable amount of discomfort.

At five o'clock next morning we were fairly in the midst of those rocky islands that here stud the Swedish coast; the wild waves dashed and danced, but sank into ripples as we steamed on and became more sheltered from the wind. The first important object that attracted

our attention was the fortress of Elfborg, built on an island in the Gotha river, to defend the port of Gottenburg from attack on the side of the North Sea. It is armed with heavy guns, and is a position of considerable strength.

We arrived at Gottenburg soon after six A.M., and were received by the Custom House officers with such suavity that, for the first time in our travelling experience, it appeared quite a pleasant thing to have our luggage examined. These officers were, indeed, the best specimens of the species we ever met, combining the maximum of civility with a minimum desire to disturb the mysterious contents of portmanteaus or carpet-bags; so without inconvenience or detention — but with a considerable amount of bowing and scraping, accompanied by polite speeches reciprocally given but not understood — we stepped on shore in that pleasurable state of mind which results from having escaped a disagreeable ordeal.

We made our way to "Bloum's Hotel," a respectable lodging-house with brevet rank, for there were no signs of an hotel about it but the name. We were agreeably surprised, however, to find at our disposal a large and scrupulously clean set of apartments; our expectations regarding Swedish inns not being very exalted. The breakfast-table soon presented quite an imposing appearance. In the centre stood a coffee-pot as large as a middle-sized urn, having on one side a sugar-basin of proportionably voluminous dimensions, and on the other a cream-jug, which might have served, on an emergency, as a soup tureen — all of massive silver; while pyramids of eggs, a huge beef-steak, with the usual concomitants of a heavy morn-

ing meal, formed our introduction to Swedish feeding. Nor must we omit to mention sugar-tongs and salt-spoons, — luxuries which we had rarely met with in Denmark. These are trifles scarcely worth noticing; yet they produced a favourable impression, from not being expected.

The arrangements of the house did not, however, extend to providing dinner for the inmates; this was to be sought for elsewhere. And, in our perambulations through the town, more than one sign-board, having *Restauration* marked upon it in large characters, gave intimation of the kind of establishment which furnished this important meal. We accordingly made our appearance at the "Prinz Carl," about four o'clock in the afternoon, where we found places in a large room arranged with various sized tables. The mingled odours of sundry viands filled the apartment, while a dozen different languages jumbled together, and, accompanied by the clatter of knives and forks, produced a confused and discordant din, above which rose the loud laughter of a little knot of jovial souls who had already regaled themselves plenteously with *finkel* and Gottenburg porter.

Early as was the hour, we observed that nearly all the assemblage had finished dinner, and, on demanding the bill of fare, and going over its items, we were not a little chagrined to find those dishes which promised to be tolerable, were finished, so we were obliged to submit to very indifferent fare. While this was preparing, we partook of the *sup*, — a preliminary with which the Swedes invariably commence their dinner. The *sup* is placed on a side table, and usually consists of bread and butter, radishes, an-

chovies, sardines, and such like, with different kinds of liqueurs.

The dishes served gave no exalted idea of the Swedish *cuisine;* and we were much inclined to agree with the Frenchmen who said, "En Suède on ne dine pas, on mange." Nor did our subsequent experience at all modify the unfavourable opinion formed from the unartistic performances of the "Prinz Carl's" cook.

Gottenburg is the successor of two older towns called Lödöse, the more ancient of which was a place of importance during the early part of the middle ages, and is often named in the history of that period. The advantages which the Gotha Elf, or river, possessed for commercial purposes, were then, as now, fully appreciated; and Lödöse is mentioned in the Sagas as early as the tenth century. It was then a great depôt for cloth, herrings, salt, and other merchandise, which were conveyed by boats up the river, and thence distributed through the country under extraordinary difficulties.

One route to the interior lay through a great forest of two days' journey. The merchandise was carried on horseback, over mountains and rocks, along tracks little frequented by any but robbers and brigands, who were ever alert to pounce upon the peaceful traders, while the peasants even considered them as lawful objects of pillage; and when the sound of the axe announced to the fatigued traveller the clearing of land, or the vicinity of a habitation, woe to him if he demanded a night's lodging, for he paid it with his life.

Gustavas Vasa founded Nylödöse (New Lödöse), at a short distance from the older town, and regarded it as

the object of his particular care; he endowed it with many privileges, and made great efforts to induce his subjects to enter into commerce, which was entirely in the hands of strangers; but in this he was unsuccessful, and often complained bitterly of the little inclination of the Swedes for mercantile pursuits. So anxious was this King for the prosperity of his new town, that he proposed, through his minister, to Elizabeth of England, that she should interfere with her subjects in the trade they had opened with Russia by way of Archangel, and induce them to visit the port of Nydölöse; but in this project also he failed.

The Gotha river at this time formed the boundary between Sweden and Norway, then belonging to Denmark; and the frontier towns and fortresses were constant objects of jealousy and contention between the two nations.

When Charles IX. founded Gottenburg, at a short distance from Lödöse, he attached so much importance to it, that in the language of the time he called it "*juten en nagel i ögat*—a nail driven into the eye" of Denmark. He endowed it with many privileges, exempted the inhabitants for twenty years from all taxes, and granted a charter of commerce to a company formed by the burghers. Christian IV. of Denmark, doubtless feeling the inconvenience of this "nail in the eye," determined to draw it out; he therefore seized the new-built town, and entirely destroyed it in 1611.

Gustavus Adolphus rebuilt Gottenburg, confirmed and extended its privileges, and encouraged foreigners to establish themselves in it, who reaped the benefits that the

Swedes were indisposed to accept. Many Dutch, German, English, and Scotch merchants and traders accordingly settled in the town, the population of which to this day consists of a mixed community, having little affinity with the race on whose soil they are fixed. The first garrison ever placed in Gottenburg was composed of English and Scotch mercenary troops in the service of Sweden, commanded by one William Stuart.

Charles Gustavus followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, and did much to advance the interests of this town. Here it was that he assembled the States-General in 1659, and here, in 1660, this hero terminated a career marked by the most daring and brilliant achievements recorded in history. Charles Gustavus is considered by the Swedes as one of the greatest men who ever sat upon the throne of their country. He was distinguished by uncommon bravery, quick perception, rapid decision, and a resolution which nothing could overcome. His knowledge of men and things was also very extensive; but above all as a warrior he profited most by possessing a clear appreciation of the value of time, which taught him that a favourable moment once lost could never be regained, and that slowness in a general is ever prolific of disaster.

The incident that led to the present site being fixed upon for Gottenburg, is an interesting illustration of the superstition of the age. It is said that the King when in search of a locality for the intended town on the left bank of the Gotha river, near to its embouchure, observed an eagle pursuing a small bird, which suddenly came to the ground and struggled at his feet. This was regarded as a highly favourable omen, and Gottenburg,

now the most thriving town of Sweden, soon afterwards flourished on the spot. Fortunately this accidental choice was a good one, the place being admirably adapted for trade, having an excellent and commodious harbour, with deep water, being only five miles distant from the Cattegat, and in direct communication, through the Gotha Canal and a series of lakes, with the Baltic Sea, Stockholm, and the richest agricultural and mining districts of the country.

The principal part of the town is built on a small plain, about a mile wide, surrounded by high dark rocks, sterile and bare, interspersed with patches of green, clumps of clustering trees, or houses and gardens of the good citizens. The masses of dusky gneiss are not of sufficient size to constitute the sublime; but their gloomy aspect, softened by intermingled grass and foliage, produce that combination of the wild and beautiful called romantic.

Gottenburg contains a population of thirty thousand souls; the houses are generally of brick stuccoed, built upon piles, and having little pretensions to architectural beauty; the public buildings, however, are not wanting in taste, and many of them are ornamented with columns and pilastres — humble representatives of the classic orders.

The streets are for the most part wide; some of them being planted with trees, and having canals by which small vessels are enabled to load or unload in the heart of the town, in this respect giving it a striking resemblance to the ports of Holland. A French writer, in an excess of enthusiasm, says, "Each great street forms a quay, where green trees unite with the masts that cover the

canals, which give to Gottenburg the aspect of Venice. This illusion is complete when, of a summer evening, light boats transport from one bank to the other merry parties or silent couples." We could trace no such resemblance between this plain daughter of the chilly North and the fair Queen of the Adriatic, from whose watery bosom spring marble palaces and sumptuous churches, rivalling each other in the peculiar beauties of Italian architecture, and making us each instant check the gondolier's exertions that we might have time, while gently floating by, to indulge the deep admiration they inspire. No — no! Venice has not a rival in the world: her charms are unique. Such a comparison does injustice to Gottenburg, for travellers visiting it would be woefully mistaken if their expectations took so high a flight; and that which is really creditable to the place might be overlooked in the disappointment at not finding all that was anticipated.

The town was in a state of transition at the time of our visit; public spirit was giving birth to numerous important changes, forming a contrast to the slowness we subsequently observed in the inhabitants of other Swedish towns in adopting those improvements which have long since become general in most parts of Europe. Indeed Gottenburg was in advance of Stockholm in several respects, especially in being lighted with gas, and in having substituted good roads, with commodious side pavements, for the execrable pitching in the streets.

Public gardens were being tastefully laid out, in which large conservatories had already been built, and a handsome new Exchange was just finished, having attached to it a richly ornamented suite of apartments for public en-

tertainments, the ball-room being fitted up with an unusual profusion of decoration. The spirit of progress thus awakened in the Gottenburghers promises to continue, and a few years will probably add much to the attractions of their town. A fine modern church, the Bishop's palace, Governor's residence, hotel de ville, post office, theatre, hospital, barracks, and bathing establishment, are the principal, and some of them very imposing buildings.

Being the only port of consequence for foreign commerce in the west of Sweden, it is a bustling, flourishing place, carrying on a most active trade. Iron and steel form the principal articles of export; and after them, linen, sail-cloth, timber, deals, grain, tar, train-oil, copper, manganese, alum, linseed, cranberries, and rock-moss. The chief imports are cotton, cotton-yarn, coffee, sugar, wine, hemp, tobacco, leather, salt, and coals. There are a great number of vessels belonging to the port, the trade of which extends to every part of the world.

Gottenburg is also the seat of considerable manufacturing establishments, and amongst them are some cotton factories. We visited the principal one—the property of a German, and found that for arrangement and order it might vie with any in Europe. It was then remarkable as being the only cotton factory in the country worked by steam power. There are also manufactories of coarse linen and woollen stuffs, sail-cloth, ropes, silk goods, paper, soap, and tobacco, together with large sugar refineries and tanneries.

A porter brewery, the property of Messrs. Carnegie and Company, situated in the suburbs, is on a most extensive scale. The consumption of porter in Sweden is great, and the excellent quality of the Gottenburg beverage is

fully appreciated by the Swedes; it is also largely exported for the Russian market, where it has long successfully competed with London stout. This porter brewery, being the only one in the country, is the source of immense wealth to its proprietors. All the manufacturing firms of Gottenburg derive great incomes from their business.

We inspected the large iron foundery of Mr. Keiller, considered by the good burghers as something extraordinary; but although very creditable to the proprietor and to the town, it presented no striking feature as to extent or arrangement. All the great manufacturing and industrial establishments are the property of foreigners, principally English, Scotch, and German, who amass large fortunes by their energy and intelligence. They carry away the loaves, while the Swedes are content to pick up the crumbs.

From what we have said above it will be seen that the British residents in Gottenburg are numerous, and have been so since its foundation. This strong mixture of English blood has had its influence over the social life, domestic habits, and general character of the population. There is a large room fitted up as a chapel, where the service of the Church of England was well performed by an English clergyman.

The lower orders, like those of Copenhagen, flock on the Sunday afternoon to places of amusement in the vicinity of the town. One of these, about two miles distant, called Lorentzburg, is the resort of small shopkeepers and artizans, with other loungers. Here are green bowers and shaded walks, an orchestra, a ball-room, restaurant, and café, with

a variety of amusements, of which the merry-go-round appeared decidedly the most attractive. Perhaps the most amusing part of this assemblage was the quaintness of their costumes, which somewhat resembled the long since expired fashions of England.

The females of the lower orders wear no bonnets, but cover the head with a kerchief tied under the chin, which is very becoming to a pretty face; we never saw in any town more fine, handsome women of this class, and they appeared endowed with a peculiarly modest demeanour, by no means in accordance with the absence of virtue said to exist so generally amongst them.

A very short time only was necessary to show the difference between the Danish and Swedish character with respect to intemperance. Drunkenness here stalked hand in hand with its gaunt offspring poverty, and there was quite sufficient to demonstrate that *finkel* does its work as effectually in Gottenburg as gin in London, or whiskey in Glasgow.

We witnessed a review of the troops of the *indelta* assembled from the neighbouring districts for their annual few weeks' drill, and were much surprised to observe with what precision they went through their movements. The general discipline did not appear to be carried to an excess, but the men were in excellent order. They are not quite so squarely built as the Danes, but their carriage is much better, and their bearing particularly soldier-like. There were also a small body of artillery, who went through their evolutions admirably.

The Gottenburghers are not entirely absorbed in money-making. They have long had an Academy of Science and Literature, with several other educational establishments,

amongst which is the Chalmer's School, an institution founded by a Scotchman of that name, for the purpose of educating young men in the physical and mechanical sciences; it is on an extensive scale, and is said to be admirably conducted.

Gottenburg is the birthplace of several men whose names are honoured in their country. Fogelberg the great sculptor, who died at Stockholm a few months since (1855), Graffman the landscape-painter, Lidner the poet, and Chapman the founder of the Swedish fleet, are natives of this town.

Gottenburg is, indeed, what the Americans would call a go a-head place in all but its hotels, which are a century behind towns of the same importance in other civilized parts of Europe. We were lucky enough to have good and clean rooms, it is true, — a circumstance of no minor importance; but that a traveller should be obliged to seek all meals but his breakfast out of the house, and be constrained to accommodate his appetite to the particular hour at which the townspeople dine, or stand the chance of getting nothing to eat, is not agreeable.

The liberal measures of England have given great impetus to the trade of Gottenburg, and, as will be seen hereafter, to that of the whole country; the abolition of the navigation laws also has been highly beneficial to Swedish shipping, while the throwing open of the English coasting trade has produced still greater extension of the mercantile relations between the British ports and those of Sweden.

But the future of Gottenburg appears still more promising from the efforts making to develop the traffic by the

Gotha Canal. An Anglo-Swedish company already exists having this object in view, but they have not yet carried out their operations on a very extensive scale. The principal advantage derived from taking merchandise by this route is avoiding the exorbitant Sound dues, which are three times greater than the canal charges for coffee and cotton yarns, five times greater for cotton, and eight times for undressed furs.

The most sanguine advocates of the scheme for increasing the traffic by the canal look forward to its producing a total revolution in the commerce of the Baltic: they think this direct communication between Hull and that sea will ultimately monopolise the traffic of England with Finland, St. Petersburg, and the eastern ports of Sweden, and hence they prognosticate the downfal of Lubeck, Hamburg, and other German ports that have hitherto been depôts of merchandise for the Baltic trade. The abolition of the Sound dues would, however, prevent these hopes being fully realised; but there is a fine opening for the company's capital by extending the internal navigation of Sweden through this canal, and the fine lakes with which it communicates.

The railway projected since we were in the country, and now (when we write) in progress, between Stockholm and Gottenburg, will, when finished, be of incalculable advantage to the latter port. It was a project long demanded by many of the inhabitants, but there was an incomprehensible blindness on the part of the nation generally concerning their true interests in this respect. Nearly every Swede we spoke to on the subject made the same observation,—"We are a poor nation, and not great

travellers; there is not sufficient traffic in the country to make the undertaking pay." This seemed to be a chronic idea, which no reasoning would remove. They could not comprehend that, being poor, the establishment of railways would prove the surest means of making them rich; they could not see that traffic was small, simply from the circumstance of Sweden being a hundred years behind other countries in her method of public conveyance, nor could they understand that railways create movement, excite enterprise, promote industry, and develop the natural resources of a country.

The long-continued stimuli, however, of such newspapers as the "*Aftonbladet*" of Stockholm, and the "*Gottenburg Gazette*," at length produced a more healthy state of the public mind, which also derived an impetus from the late increased prosperity of the country, so that Sweden has now really struck out in the right course for placing herself on a par with other nations, in her internal means of communication. Some lines beside that we mentioned above have been decided on, and one or two of them are already commenced.

In order to avoid returning to the subject, we shall here notice the mercantile and industrial movement of Sweden. The commerce of the country has rapidly increased latterly, as will be seen by the following table:—

IMPORTATION.

	Dollars banco.	£.
1844	18,480,000	1,540,000
1848	23,200,000	1,933,333
1851	28,048,000	2,337,333
1852	29,049,000	2,420,750
1853	34,387,000	2,865,583

EXPORTATION.

	Dollars banco.	£.
1844	21,680,000	1,806,666
1848	26,400,000	2,200,000
1851	26,958,000	2,246,500
1852	27,658,000	2,304,833
1853	34,470,000	2,872,500

Thus, in ten years ending 1853, the imports were nearly doubled, while the exports increased about sixty per cent. The augmentation in the customs' revenue is also remarkable. It amounted, in 1850, to 5,374,000 dollars banco, or 464,500*l.*, and in 1854 reached 7,702,000 dollars banco, or 641,833*l.*, an increase of about forty-three per cent. in four years.

The merchant marine has not lingered behind, and within the last quarter of a century has made most satisfactory progress, as the number of ships indicated below, with their tonnage, will show: —

1830	1841	vessels of	72,074 lasts.*
1840	2171	„	87,779 „
1850	2744	„	112,983 „
1853	2826	„	115,126 „

Here it appears that in twenty-three years the augmentation in the number of vessels amounts to about fifty-four per cent., and the tonnage during the same period to about sixty per cent.

In 1848 and 1849 the exports to Great Britain and Ireland in Swedish vessels amounted only to 27,000 *lasts;* in 1850 the number rose to nearly 36,000, in 1851 to above 48,000, and in 1852 to 52,523 *lasts*, showing the extraordinary increase of more than a hundred per cent.

* The *last* is equal to about two tons.

in three years on the carrying trade of home produce in Swedish ships to British ports; while the progress of the Norwegian mercantile navy has been even greater. The following will show at one view the comparative increase of population, agricultural produce, and cattle in Sweden between the dates indicated:—

	1822.	1847.	1850.
Population - - (souls)	2,645,265	3,363,330	3,482,541
Grain - - (tons)	5,867,570	8,398,451	8,791,950
Potatoes - - „	2,374,205	5,328,503	4,890,311
Horses - - -	378,353	384,882	384,464
Horned Cattle - -	1,484,984	1,813,823	1,807,909
Sheep and Goats -	1,477,709	1,718,765	1,725,274
Pigs - - - -	471,814	555,083	556,288

Thus it appears that while the population has increased thirty-two per cent. in twenty-eight years, the produce of grain has increased nearly fifty, and that of potatoes about a hundred and six per cent.; while the increase in the number of horses does not amount to two per cent. that of horned cattle only reaches twenty-two, sheep and goats scarcely seventeen, and pigs about eighteen per cent. It will therefore be observed, that the produce of cereals and potatoes has exceeded the proportionate increase of population, while the number of cattle, sheep, &c., have comparatively diminished. The cause of this is said to arise from the immense quantity of grain absorbed in the distillation of brandy, the residue from which proves highly deleterious to the cattle, for it is positively asserted that the distillers often make use of arsenic to render the brandy clear, and the result is, that the beasts fed on this

drank, or refuse, lose their teeth after a few years; at all events, it stops their growth and checks their increase.

The total value of manufactured produce in Sweden amounted, in 1852, to 24,648,811 rix dollars (2,054,067*l.*), and in 1853 to 25,379,311 rix dollars (2,114,942*l.*), being an increase of the latter over the former year by a sum amounting to 730,500 dollars. The principal manufactures, and their value in 1853, are indicated below:—

	Value in Dollars banco.	Value in English Money.
Cloths - - -	4,410,025	£367,501
Cotton and linen -	872,215	72,684
Cotton thread - -	4,025,723	335,476
Flax thread - -	111,818	9,318
Machinery - -	1,052,245	87,687
Sugar refining - -	4,822,871	401,906
Tobacco and snuff -	3,315,360	276,280
Paper - - -	1,097,400	91,450
Glass - - -	708,948	59,079

There are many charming views obtained from the rocky eminences in the vicinity of Gottenburg. The town, with its beautiful church and bridge-spanned canals; the rock-bound and ship-studded harbour; the distant fiord with sombre islets springing from sparkling water, or the Gotha Elf winding through its chequered valley, now washing a mighty mass of upheaved gneiss, now sweeping along the alluvial bank of a tiny valley, now in its intricate course concealed from the view, now rushing into sight a noble stream;—such *coups d'œil* elicited in succession our deserved admiration, which was increased by the strong contrasts they presented to Danish scenery.

Near to the town are the remains of the once celebrated fortress of Gullberg, built in 1303 by the Swedish King,

Birger Magnusson, not only to protect his frontiers from the Norwegians, but to defend himself against the attacks of his brothers, Eric and Waldemar, who were in open revolt against his authority. These hostilities were most disastrous to the country, and continued for many years, being interrupted at intervals only by pretended reconciliations of the brothers. On one of these occasions the two princes seized Birger, and imprisoned him in the Castle of Nyköping, where he remained some time, but was released on condition of sharing his kingdom with them. Ten years later, when on a visit of apparent friendship to Birger at the same castle, then his residence, he threw Eric and Waldemar into a dungeon, where they were kept in chains for four months.

The partisans of the princes, indignant at this treachery, laid siege to Nyköping, which so exasperated the King, that he locked the door of the gloomy cell in which the brothers were confined, threw the keys into the river, and left them to starve. They lingered for several days in the most terrible agony, until death put an end to their sufferings. This revolting cruelty created such general indignation, that Birger was compelled to fly from the country. His son, and heir to the throne, was subsequently seized and executed, although not a participator in his father's crime. This expiatory vengeance fell heavily on the guilty head of Birger, whose end it hastened, and he died in exile shortly after.

Christian IV. of Denmark attacked Gullberg at the head of his troops on a winter's night of 1612. The fortress had a Swedish garrison,—worthy soldiers of the gallant Gustavus Adolphus. Five times did the intrepid

Danes advance furiously to the assault, five times did the valiant Swedes hurl back their dauntless enemies. In one of these furious onslaughts Mårten Krakow, the Swedish governor, was seriously wounded, but his wife, Emmerentia Pauli — not less courageous than himself — assumed command, while even the soldiers' wives flew to the walls, and nobly fought by their husbands' sides. Thus vigorously repulsed, Christian was obliged to retire, after having sustained immense loss, and owing his defeat to the heroism of a woman.

This is not an isolated instance of female heroism in the North, displayed under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Christina Gyllensteirna defended the citadel of Stockholm against Christian II. of Denmark for four months, with a bravery, talent, and loyal devotion never excelled in the greatest generals of ancient or modern times. Anne Bjelke, who obstinately defended Kalmar against the Danes at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is another Swedish heroine, around whose name shines a halo of glory.

Gullberg being considered of questionable importance as a defensive position in modern warfare, and requiring a large garrison, the Swedish Government decided on destroying it in 1806; so that some extensive ruins and two little forts, called the *Lion of Gotha* and the *Crown of Gotha* — still retained as useful in case of need, for the protection of the town — are all that now remain of this stronghold.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE GOTHA ELF.— RUINS OF BOHUS CASTLE. — A BARON AND A COUNT.— THE FALLS OF TROLLHÄTTA. — LEGENDS OF TROLLHÄTTA. — WHAT'S IN A NAME. — WENERSBURG.

We decided on taking the route by the Gotha Canal from Gottenburg to Stockholm, not only from the facilities and comparative comforts it offered, but from the beautiful scenery through which it passes. We therefore embarked in the steamer "E. Nordewald" at six o'clock in the morning, and were soon after slowly steaming up the Gotha Elf. Our vessel, when compared to the swift river-boats of England, had about the relative speed of a tortoise to a racehorse; yet there was nothing to be regretted in this sober rate of progression, for the morning was fine, and there were numerous objects to attract the attention.

The scenery on either hand, for many miles, consists of bare rocks,—now isolated, now extending in low ranges, separated from each other by valleys varying from a quarter to three quarters of a mile in width, fertile, but indifferently cultivated, and displaying occasionally a peasant's wooden house, coloured red, after the fashion of the country. The sterility of the hills at length gives way to a clothing of moss and firs, which on approaching Lilla Edet are again changed for vegetation of a better description.

On the whole route from the sea we noticed the general smooth and rounded appearance of the rocks,—a condition which prevails very generally throughout the country, and gives it much geological interest. M. Sefstrom—the first geologist who made any scientific observation on this phenomenon—concludes that a general grinding down of the rocks by mechanical agency has taken place since they were thrown into their present position, and attributes this singular feature to the long-continued action of moving water. Other observers, however, object to this theory, and we agree with their views.

Considering the nature and extent of this great operation, it indeed appears highly improbable that effects of such magnitude could have been produced by the friction of water alone, even were there not some peculiar features that are fatal to the hypothesis. First, there are observed on the otherwise polished surface of the rocks certain linear abrasions, or *striæ*, all taking one and the same direction from north-east to south-west. Secondly, it has been noticed that the grinding down is universal on the north-eastern faces of the rocks, whereas any asperities still remaining are found on their south-western sides only, but especially where they are of a precipitous character. These appearances have, therefore, given rise to the more reasonable supposition that the general smoothing has been caused by a vast mass of ice, exercising a strong, steady, and sustained pressure, while passing slowly over the country in a direction from north-east to south-west, and planing down in its passage all the roughness that may have existed. The striæ were probably produced by fragments of rock pressed along on the under surface of the glacial sheet; for

had they been caused by ice, they would doubtless have been more numerous.

It is not possible to decide whether this phenomenon be the result of a series of operations that took place at intervals, and by partial movements,—now grinding one locality, now another—or whether of one vast plain of ice, renewed from the north as it progressed toward the south —a mighty glacier, extending over ages in its passage. If the latter, the great frozen mass must have far exceeded in extent and grandeur anything of a similar description witnessed in the present day.

We passed the fine ruins of Bohus, an old castle on an island in the river, which looked like a stricken giant, majestic even in decadency. It was erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century by a Norwegian king, as a frontier fortress, was the scene of many stirring events in the Middle Ages, and frequently changed masters. It was long regarded as a position of considerable importance as well from its situation, as its immense strength, natural and artificial.

Bohus became particularly conspicuous during the wars between Sweden and Denmark, when Norway belonged to the latter. It was from this citadel that Christian IV. sallied out in person with his troops in the night, to attack Gullberg. By the treaty wrung from Frederic III. of Denmark, in 1658, after Charles Gustavus had made his successful march across the frozen Belts, Bohus was ceded to Sweden; but, losing its importance when the neighbouring provinces were permanently wrested from Denmark, it gradually fell into decay. Enough, however, of massive and imposing masonry still exists to

show that its reputation of impregnability was not ill-merited.

Our little vessel was pretty comfortable; the sleeping-cabins, containing two beds each, were clean and tolerably commodious; and although a fastidious person might have found much to criticise in the *cuisine*, and with justice have condemned the arrangements of the feeding-cabin, there was nothing else to complain of; so, with agreeable fellow-passengers and a variety of interesting objects, the time passed very pleasantly.

There were on board a young Swedish widowed countess, lively and lady-like; a mother with two fair Anglo-Swedish daughters, graceful and pretty; a baron, said to cling, with unchanging devotion, to the traditions of the former dynasty; a jovial doctor of six feet two, full of piquant wit; and a young count, who was returning home after an eighteen months' visit in Paris, where he had drunk deeply from the cup of Socialism, and now laboured under the delusion that bad manners were signs of independence, and that patriotism was best displayed by violating the rules of good breeding. The battles between him and the doctor were frequent and amusing; the latter drew from the young Republican all the ejaculations and high-sounding phrases peculiar to the advocates of Socialist doctrines, and then humorously twisted them into forms so ridiculous as to convulse the listeners with laughter, or, seizing an argumentative eulogy on the merits of ultra-Republicanism — intended by the count to convince and astonish his auditory — the doctor would annihilate it with a volley of dry, pungent wit, beneath which his *red* antagonist seemed to vibrate.

Indeed, this young visionary had not brain enough to advocate his new creed upon high grounds: he had evidently learned Republicanism in the worst school; he mistook a vague sentiment for fixed principle, and fancied that rambling assertions constituted sound arguments. So strongly, however, were these new ideas stamped in a weak mind, that even gallantry was sacrificed to them. When the persevering doctor requested him to take off his hat in the presence of ladies at table, he refused to do so, on the plea that it was not customary at Paris; and, moreover, he pronounced a servile adherence to such forms to be inconsistent with the laws of individual liberty.

The baron and the count were representatives of the opposite and extreme ends of the political chain. The system of the one would bring the progress of the world to a dead lock, or, rather, reverse the engine of civilization, and carry society a century back; that of the other would shatter the social fabric, and endeavour to reconstruct it of the same elements differently arranged; taking the rotten materials for foundation, using heavy corner-stones as capitals for Corinthian shafts, supporting the light cornice with massive buttresses, applying the sculptured frieze to paving the outer court, building fluted columns into irregular walls, and trying to construct the arch without a key-stone;—thus attempting to convert society into an edifice of architectural monstrosity, without beauty, harmony, or stability; which, ere the scaffolding was removed, would fall to the ground, and leave nothing but chaotic disorganisation.

While the steamer was passing the first locks of the Gotha Canal, we landed to see the fall of Lilla Edet, the

lowest of a series of cataracts, of which those at Trollhätta are the most celebrated. The river is rather wide at Lilla Edet, and the majestic stream makes a downward leap of five-and-twenty feet, the volume of water being immense. Although the character of this fall is different, its effect is scarcely less grand or imposing than that of the Rhine at Shaffhausen.

The announcement that numerous locks to be passed higher up the river would give us ample time to visit Trollhätta, caused a sudden and an universal agility amongst the passengers, many of whom were previously in a state of listlessness, from which one fancied nothing would arouse them, for the weather was oppressively hot, and the sultry, enervating atmosphere reminded us more of a tropical clime, than of the fresh bracing air we expected to find in so high a degree of northern latitude. Soon after landing, however, heat, languor, fatigue,—all were forgotten, as a scene of surpassing grandeur burst upon us.

Pent up between approaching rocky masses, we see the outpouring waters of the Wenern Lake rush through their iron portal to fall thundering in furious eddies below, and then come dashing on in a wild, boiling, broken torrent, over which floats a veil of filmy spray, giving a refreshing coolness to the air. We approach and pass a little suspension bridge—that seems to tremble more from the vibration of the furious roar beneath than from our irregular footsteps—and then we stand upon a small island dividing the gushing stream into two branches, which, gaining velocity by compression, sweep on either side to meet again and fall in surging strife below.

But a still grander object strikes our wondering gaze; this is the upper fall, a short distance above the spot whereon we stand. It also is cut in two by a rock projecting from the middle of the gorge, in front of which the streams unite and burst down with terrific power to whirl and struggle in the dark abyss, tossing high into the air from their foaming crests volumes of white mist in rapid succession, which catch the sun's rays, and transform them into dancing rainbows.

Above, below, on either hand, goes on the undying struggle that for countless ages past has never ceased. The accompanying roar is indescribable: the noise of a mighty tempest sweeping across an interminable forest, and wresting giant branches from the trees, might, perhaps, resemble it. While thunder issues from the greater falling liquid masses, ten thousand spray-topped crests send forth sharp sounds like the hissings of angry serpents, and hundreds of miniature whirlpools add their piercing whispers to the general din. Thus assailed, the unaccustomed brain reels for an instant, and then, regaining its equilibrium, the surrounding scene bursts with tremendous effect upon the excited senses. Admiration, wonder, awe, combine to produce that painfully pleasurable emotion elicited by contemplating the sublime. The savage scenery around is quite in character with the mad impetuosity of the river, and the only drawbacks to the whole are certain mills which rear their plain, even ugly, fronts, like foul excrescences on the face of Nature.

Is it wonderful that in those dark days of paganism, when unenlightened men peopled the world with imaginary beings of monstrous forms, and various attributes, to

supply the place of that God whose name to them was unknown, — is it wonderful, we say, that these Sons of Odin should have been impressed by this mighty work of Nature, and with superstitious terror have believed it to be the seat of struggles between giant warriors, the marvellous creations of their own exalted imagination? It is not! And thus we find tradition handing down numerous tales of these fierce encounters.

There, says one legend, where the terrible cataracts of Trollhätta roared in the solitude, Starkotter, the ferocious warrior of eight arms, met a long time ago, in deadly fight, the great magician Hergrim's champion. The struggle was obstinate and bloody, but at last, the many-armed Starkotter triumphed, and victory gave him full power over the lovely Ogn Alfafoster, the adored and the adorer of him who was vanquished. Starkotter the victorious would fain have espoused Ogn the beautiful, whom he had so fairly won by his prowess, but she killed herself on the body of the slain, preferring death with him she loved to being the bride of his rival and vanquisher. From that time Trollhätta has been looked upon with superstitious reverence as a locality sacred to heroic deeds and conjugal fidelity — two virtues of the highest order in the ancient Scandinavian code.

The Sagas relate that the country in the vicinity of the cataracts was inhabited by the descendants of *Troll*, the great sorcerer, and of *Alfvar*, the ugliest of all men. The locality derives its name from the former Troll-hätta, the "Magician's Abyss."

Olaus Magnus and an old Saga mention a large cavern as having existed near the falls, which became the rendez-

vous of a band of daring brigands, who for a long time held the neighbouring country in terror, seized all travellers, and from the secresy and strength of their hiding-place, defied every attempt to capture and punish them. A legend says that amongst their captives was a young and lovely girl, who had been detained for many months in that dark cavern, the robbers' wild and lonely home.

The voice of the cataract was mute, for its waters were held motionless in winter's icy clutch, and naught was heard but the blast sweeping across the jagged rocks, sighing and moaning as though bewailing the sad fate of the fair captive maiden. It was Christmas Eve, and the girl asked permission of the brigand chief to go for a bundle of straw. This request he granted, on condition that she revealed to no one the secret of the robbers' hiding-place, but in the event of her betraying it she was menaced with the most terrible vengeance.

The maiden went forth in the darkness; she clambered over rocks, amidst ice and snow; the east wind whistled, and the white drift swept by, but she heeded as little the difficulties of the path as the riot of the elements; her body and her spirit for a moment were free, and she bounded along like a young doe. She obtained the straw, but kept her promise, and told no one the secret of her gloomy prison. Slowly and sadly she returned to the cavern, and pined again beneath a weight of misery. Suddenly the clash of arms aroused her; a fierce conflict raged; the brigands were discovered, overpowered, and secured; thus the maiden was released. Straw after straw, had fallen from her bundle, and marked the path, by which the robbers were traced to their den.

They were afterwards condemned and executed, the whole band being thus exterminated. No such cavern, however, is now to be found.

There are many other legends, and a host of modern stories, mostly of love and valour, related on the spot by the cicerones, whose garrulity never tires so long as there are listeners to the endless narratives. Clarke says that Gustavus III. had two pigs, a wooden house, and two geese sent down the principal fall. The pigs, after a headlong roll, landed safely, the house was shattered to pieces, but, singular to relate, the geese were drowned.

In the vicinity of the cataracts on a level with the highest fall—but at an elevation far above that part of the stream's bed nearest to which it is situated—is a large smooth hollow or pit in the rock, generally supposed to have been made by falling water, at a period before the present channel of the river was so deep; but an intelligent traveller who visited the spot a year before us, pronounces this excavation to be "a *reisentophe*, or giant's tub, the product of some cascade connected with glacial operations, and totally independent of the later condition of the valley as the bed of a river." Within this giant's tub are inscribed the names of many royal and noble personages, together with those of more plebeian birth who desired to see their names figuring in such goodly company.

This name writing is a queer mania, after all; especially amongst those who lose their individuality in a cognominal multitude, unless, indeed, they resort to the plan adopted by an American with whom for a time we travelled the same route in the East. He, when visiting the monuments

of Egypt, always carried a chisel and mallet, and occupied the whole time in cutting a full notice of himself in large letters on the most conspicuous part of each temple—exploring these stupendous ruins being to him of very secondary consideration. We heard the question put to our Transatlantic acquaintance, "Have you been at Thebes?" and the reply, "Oh, yes, sir! you'll see my name and address at Karnac." We had mounted to the summit of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, and while again descending that marvellous pile, we were thinking how many nations had risen up and flourished, and been swept away, since the stupendous masonry was raised by the hands of a race itself now long extinct; when we were aroused from our reveries by a familiar voice calling out, "Look here, sir; I guess that's pretty plain!" And then, oh, horror! our eyes fell upon the name and address of our wandering Yankee friend, cut in large deep characters, on the stone immediately above the entrance to the tomb of the mighty Cheops,—that stone which until then, chisel had not touched since the Egyptian mason's hand had given the finishing stroke four thousand years before. Oh, fame! who can say that every traveller for centuries to come who visits this mighty mausoleum will not associate with it the name of this presumptuous citizen of New York.*

Before re-embarking to continue our voyage on the Gotha we took a glance at the two great cuttings of the canal through the solid rock at Trollhätta. One of them was finished at the beginning of this century, and was in

* We give this as an example of the absurdity of name writing; not as a specimen of American travellers; many of whom we have known, admired, respected, and esteemed.

its day considered a gigantic undertaking for Sweden; but, accustomed as we now are to see every engineering difficulty vanish before the power of modern science, the magnitude of the work did not strike us as anything extraordinary. This cutting being found inconveniently narrow, and the locks too small for the class of vessels which an increased traffic required, the late King Charles John (Bernadotte) ordered the construction of the second line on a larger scale, which was commenced and finished during his reign. To that monarch, indeed, is due the honour of having finally accomplished the union of the North Sea with the Baltic,—a work of incalculable advantage to the country. It was the dream of Gustavus I., and all the princes of his and the succeeding dynasties, but was not realised until a new race had superseded the House of Vasa and its branches on the throne of Sweden.

By this route to the Baltic a long sea voyage is avoided, but the dimensions of the canal are still only sufficient to admit the passage of small-sized vessels. As a means of transport for the produce of the country it is invaluable, while as a strategic accessory to defensive operations in case of invasion it is of paramount importance. The latter consideration probably influenced most powerfully the several Kings who did, or attempted to do, something towards its execution.

The Trollhätta Cutting appears to have been the great stumbling-block to success. Charles XII., who laughed at difficulties, set his Archimedes, Polheim, to the task; and this great engineer, as bold and daring in science as his royal master in war, attempted to guide the boisterous stream by a short cut, but at the very moment when suc-

cess appeared to crown his efforts the swelling waters burst their confines, and Polheim's project only added a fine artificial to the natural cascades of Trollhätta. Another attempt was made by Adolphus Frederic in 1754; another failure followed, and thus the Gotha Canal has obtained as much celebrity from the ill success of the first attempts to construct it, as from the nature of the existing works.

We stepped on board the steamer, and found that during our absence, she had mounted a hundred and twenty feet by a giant flight of watery steps. After following the river for some miles we entered the Carlsgraf branch of the canal, made by Charles XII. to avoid the Runnumsfallet falls.

The country above Trollhätta is more open and less rocky than below; but what is gained in fertility is lost in effect. The Gustavus locks on the Carlsgraf are at Brinkebergs-Kulle, near the junction of the canal with the river; beyond these, for several miles, nature has evidently traced the course of this communication, for the formal lines of art are superseded by banks of pleasing diversity.

The Carlsgraf conducted us into the basin of Wasbotten, to the east of which, on the Wenern Lake, is the town of Wenersburg, having a population of more than two thousand inhabitants, who originally emigrated from the small town of Brete, the situation of Wenersburg being much more advantageous for commercial purposes. A great fire destroyed Wenersburg, about twenty years since, the church alone escaping. The town was rebuilt with improved taste, and is now regular and neat looking. It is the capital of Westrogothie, the seat of a prefecture, and,

being conveniently placed on the line of the Gotha Canal, derives a more than proportionate benefit from the augmented traffic of the country. A newspaper is published at Wenersburg, which aspires to occupying political importance in the State. Our stay at the place was short —a circumstance not to be regretted, for there was nothing to repay the loss of valuable time.

CHAP. XIX.

THE WENERN LAKE. — TWILIGHT'S CHARMS. — THE WETTERN LAKE. — THE DOUGLAS. — AN INTERESTING DISCOVERY. — SAINT OLAF A VIKING. — A PATRIOTIC NOBLE. — A RARE PHENOMENON.

PUFF! puff! and our little vessel is skimming over the Wenern, a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the North Sea, and the largest lake in Europe after Onega and Ladoga. At one part, indeed, we might have fancied ourselves on the wide ocean; for no land was visible, excepting, perhaps, to a very practised eye. Twenty-four rivers and smaller streams flow into this lake; some of them coming from the mountains of Norway; while the only outlet being by the Gotha Elf, it is not surprising that such an immense volume of water, when contracted into so narrow a channel, should produce the glorious effect we witnessed at Trollhätta. The lake is everywhere navigable, and is invaluable to the province of Carlstad for transporting the produce of its rich iron mines. The borders are studded with numerous islands, several of them large, — many being inhabited and cultivated.

On leaving Wenersburg, we gazed with interest at the basaltic mountain of Halleberg, connected with which are so many exciting legends of early pagan times. Over a precipice of this mountain many a northern warrior is said

to have thrown himself, when impatient to quaff mead with Odin in Valhalla. At its base, and in the vicinity, are numerous ancient graves, which we deeply regretted being unable to visit.

Few objects were seen to vary the general monotonous aspect of the islands until, after several hours' steaming, we came in sight of Kinne-külle, called "the Crown of Sweden," on the eastern shore of the lake. Although less than a thousand feet in height, the soil and productions of this mountain are much varied; it is exceedingly fertile, and is everywhere cultivated like a garden. Geologically, it is considered interesting, from being composed of several strata lying one above the other, and gradually diminishing in size from base to summit; so that a succession of terraces are left.

This was our first experience of the real enjoyment of a northern summer's evening, than which nothing can be imagined more delicious. The wind died away as we approached the north-eastern part of the lake, and the water became perfectly calm. At eleven o'clock the whole firmament was of the loveliest rose colour, which, being reflected on the surface of the lake, seemed to convert it into a sea of pale-tinted pink crystal; while the horizon displayed a strongly-defined line of white and vivid light, that separated the rosy canopy of heaven above from the equally beautiful aqueous sheet below. No other object was there visible save sky and water, yet never was scene fuller of touching, soul-captivating beauty. It was nature in sublime simplicity,—a world apart which imagination could only people with flitting angels. Nothing material could have been added without destroying the effect; soft,

distant music, stealing from an unseen source, might have harmonised with one's feelings; yet even that was undesirable, so spirit-soothing was the admiration called forth.

I have beheld the sun across the billows of the wide Pacific, rising over surf-beaten crests of coral ridges; and seen him, in the tropics, sinking amidst a flood of glory. I have watched the majestic orb descending behind Judea's mountains, touching the Moab summits with fiery red, and throwing the Dead Sea into deep and gloomy shade. Moonlight scenes, too, have I witnessed in a hundred climes—experienced the soft light of a Nubian sky—admired the evening-tinted beauties of Mont Blanc—enjoyed the bright atmosphere for which the sunny East is famed—swept across the star-lit waters of the Adriatic—looked over rich and glowing landscapes—stood amidst wild and rugged mountains—gazed, with trembling wonder, on stupendous ruins; but from none of these did I derive purer enjoyment than from those twilight hours upon that Scandinavian lake. It was a scene that Gudin's genius would have seized with ardour, as a subject worthy of his pencil.

Early next morning we ascended a hundred and sixty-two feet from the Wenern by the West Gotha Canal, thus having attained the greatest elevation of the voyage, and then entered the narrow, winding lake of Vicken, steaming amidst numberless islands so closely packed as to render the navigation intricate and difficult, but displaying a labyrinth of mysterious channels, now washing the sides of bleak rocks, now kissing the hanging foliage of tree-covered islets, and presenting, from moment to moment, an infinite variety of charming views.

Immediately on quitting the Vicken, the immense fortress of Carlsborg, situate on a peninsula stretching from the Eastern shore into the waters of the Wettern Lake, rose majestically before us. The late King Charles XIV. (Bernadotte) laid the foundations in 1820, evidently with the intention of making this stronghold the centre of a great defensive system against foreign aggression, and probably also designing it as a safe retreat for royalty in the event of internal commotions. Having the Wenern Lake on one hand, the Malar on the other — the Wettern being higher and deeper than either — placed between two fertile provinces and communicating by water with the North Sea, and with the Baltic; Carlsborg must be regarded as a position of immense importance, and was doubtless fixed upon by so experienced a general as its royal founder only after the most mature consideration, and in connection with a comprehensive plan of defence, for which the peculiar features of the country are so admirably adapted.

A graphic writer has described Carlsborg as having the coasts of Sweden for outworks; the depths of the sea as ditches; the mountains of Smaland, East Gothland and Nericia, of Wermland and West Gothland for walls; the most fertile provinces of the country for granaries; and the whole of the inhabitants of Southern Sweden for garrison, independent of twenty thousand regular troops which it could easily accommodate.

This great work was still going on at the period of our visit. Up to December, 1837, it had cost the country 1,141,200 dollars banco, which had increased to 1,500,000 in 1854, and it was not then finished. It was originally

called the fortress of Wanas, after the peninsula on which it is built; but Charles XIV. conferred his own name upon it in 1832, when on a visit of inspection. Carlsborg is considered impregnable, and, according to the opinion of competent judges, few citadels of Europe can be compared with it.

We traversed the Wettern from west to east, about eighteen miles, its greatest breadth, the length being eighty-six. A sunny day and agreeable conversation made the time pass rapidly, and we reached Mötala towards the evening. This town is the Birmingham of Sweden, and there appeared to be more life and bustle than we had observed in any other place on our route. Here are iron founderies on a creditable scale, the steam engines and other works turned out from these establishments being of a very superior description. There is much at Mötala that we should have examined with interest had not our stopping time been too short.

On, on, night and day, our little vessel sped at her own sober pace, sometimes passing between rocky walls within a few inches of touching her sides; sometimes making a deviation from the direct course to avoid a sunken rock, and being often obliged to take so sharp a turn in a narrow channel, that she threatened to dash against one object while trying to avoid another. The captain, however, appeared to know every tree and stone, and with consummate skill piloted his craft amidst obstacles that his knowledge alone prevented being real dangers.

We were destined, however, to have a fright where least expected. Soon after leaving Mötala we commenced our downward movement of about three hundred feet. It was

night, and all the passengers were in their beds, when a sudden crash aroused, or rather, shook us, into wakefulness, and produced a general consternation, especially amongst the ladies. Hurriedly putting on some stray garments we rushed with others to ascertain the cause of the rude shock that had so unceremoniously disturbed our slumbers.

The affair was soon explained: the vessel had passed some locks of the canal, but when the gates were opened that she might float through to the next basin, she was suddenly precipitated to the rock beneath. It appeared that the men, whose business it was to superintend the passage of the steamer through the locks, had handed over their duties to some boys, who left open the sluices they should have closed, and thus caused the tremendous bump our boat had received. It was found, however, on examination, that no material damage had been done, so we retired again to rest, and did not awake until we had far advanced into the Boren Lake.

On quitting the Boren the vessel had to descend another long flight of steps. While this was going on, we disembarked and obtained some beautiful and extensive views, combining arborial luxuriance with sterile nakedness, and cultivated fields with sun-reflecting waters. Another means of beguiling the time consisted of a visit to the neighbouring church of Vretakloster, an ancient pile, judging from the appearance of the interior, where are some tombs of early Christian kings, abbesses, and distinguished persons. Amongst them the monuments of a Douglas family are most conspicuous. The bloody heart and three mullets in chief, appear strangely out of place in this remote part of Scandinavia, so closely is "the Douglas"

twined with Scottish history; but the name figures also in Swedish annals connected with many a bold and brilliant deed in arms achieved during the thirty years' war under the glorious standard of Gustavus Adolphus, from which time this family flourished in Sweden, but is now extinct. The church has been altered and renewed externally to such an extent, that many of its characteristics as a structure of the twelfth century are destroyed.

Continuing the voyage, we passed through the Roxen, another charming lake of some extent, on the shore of which stands the "chateau," once the family seat of the Douglases. On leaving the Roxen, we again descended a ladder of locks to a bay in the Baltic, yet having no more the appearance of the sea than many other parts of our voyage (not so much, indeed, as the Wenern Lake), for there is such a multitude of rocky islands, that the difficulties of navigating are greatly increased, although every precaution has been taken to mark the safest channel. One view amongst the many changing scenes struck us particularly. It consists of an island covered with a mass of diversified foliage, from the midst of, and high above which, rises up a tall round tower in partial ruin, nearly all that now remains of the once famous Castle of Stegeborg.

The Sodertelge Canal, connecting the Baltic with the Malar Lake, is the last, and in some respects the most interesting, portion of this great line of natural and artificial communication. It appears that in cutting the Sodertelge passage the remains of an ancient hut or house were found, upwards of sixty feet below the surface, and at about the level of the Baltic Sea. On this singular

discovery Sir Charles Lyell founds an ingenious theory, whereby he endeavours to show that "this building must have been submerged beneath the waters of the Baltic to the depth of sixty-four feet; and, before it was raised again to its present position, had become covered with strata more than sixy feet thick."

This is not only to suppose that the land has sunk and risen again upwards of ten fathoms since the country was first inhabited, but that the people located there before the sinking commenced must have attained a certain amount of civilization to construct such a hut. Now according to all existing evidence, the earliest tribes that inhabited Scandinavia had *no fixed residences.* They lived by hunting and fishing, were not acquainted with agriculture, and, like all other savages, wandered from one locality to another in search of the game or fish necessary to their subsistence. This is a state never accompanied with the possession of fixed abodes, which were probably not used in Sweden until after the arrival, under Odin, of that Asiatic race who introduced a new civilization.

To imagine so extraordinary a phenomenon as that related above, could have taken place so recently, without the slightest notice by tradition, is of itself sufficiently incomprehensible; but when we consider the time required for the deposit and stratification of such a mass of matter, and for its subsequent gradual rising to the present height, it appears almost impossible that so extensive an operation could have been accomplished in comparatively so short a period.

From the observations of Celsius, Linnæus, Von Buch, Playfair, and others, including Sir Charles Lyell himself,

it is proved that a singular phenomenon is going on in the Scandinavian peninsula. The ground in a line from east to west, in the parallel of 56°.3′ north latitude, is perfectly stationary, and has been so for ages; but the land for a thousand miles to the north of it is rising, while that to the south is gradually sinking. The greatest elevation takes place at the North Cape, and is at the rate of five feet in a century; the rising gradually diminishing, until at Stockholm it scarcely reaches three inches in the same period. The consequence of this is, that towns on the borders of the Gulf of Bothnia are being gradually removed farther from the coast, while the waters of the Baltic are encroaching on the shores of Scania.

Now Sodertelge is to the south of Stockholm, and is, therefore, rising but very slowly at present; at a rate, in fact, that would require at least two hundred and fifty centuries to raise it sixty feet. This circumstance weighs very strongly against Sir Charles Lyell's theory, for there are grounds for believing that the movement now going on has been progressing at about the same ratio for ages.

Sir Charles says, "The stratification over the house was very decided, but, for the most part, of that wavy and irregular kind which would result from a meeting of currents." Mr. R. Chambers, who considers Sir Charles' supposition so violent that only the most incontestible evidence could justify its being advanced, puts forward an opposing theory, suggested by a passage in Mr. Laing's work on Sweden, wherein he says, "It was in this branch of the Malar Lake, if I am not mistaken, that Saint Olaf, when a Viking, was penned up on one of his

piratical expeditions, in the eleventh century, by the united fleets of the Swedish and Danish monarchs: they expected to starve him out, or to force him to engage with his few ships to a disadvantage. *He made a ditch or canal from the lake to the Baltic,* through which he carried his vessels to sea, leaving his enemies blockading the entrance of the branch of the lake."

Assuming this statement to be a fact, Mr. Chambers reasons thus: "The line of this ditch would necessarily be the same as that of the modern canal. In such a trench a house may have been built. The trench may have been subsequently filled up with wind-driven materials, against which supposition there is nothing positive on record in the case; for though Sir Charles states that the superincumbent matter was stratified, and of marine origin, he only alludes to the banks or sides of the present canal at the spot, and not to the matter actually above the house, which, indeed, he never saw. On the contrary, there is something in the record positively in favour of our surmise, for Sir Charles ascertained that the sand immediately in contact with the remains of the house was of the fine kind which is accumulated by the wind. Behold, then, a *possible modern origin* for this hut, without any necessity of supposing a comparatively modern submersion of the land sixty-four feet under the sea."

Geyer, the celebrated Swedish historian, mentions this adventure of St. Olaf, but his account scarcely conveys the idea of the Saint having undertaken a work so stupendous for those days as that of cutting through stratified matter to a depth of seventy or eighty feet,—for the channel by which the vessels escaped must necessarily

have been many feet below the level of the hut. "Olaf Haroldson," says Geyer, "another descendant of Harold Harfager, so well known afterwards under the designation of St. Olaf, had, like all the sons of the Northern Kings, employed his youth in piratical roving. His adventures conducted him to Sweden, where he was one day penned up by Olaf Scotkönung in the Malar. It is said that he only managed to escape by opening a passage where the waters of the lake found a new outlet." *

The difficulties which such an undertaking would present to a body of mariners unprovided with necessary implements, having but a limited season before them for accomplishing their work, and being, moreover, closely pressed by an active enemy in superior force, might appear insurmountable, were the indomitable spirit and persevering energy of the Northern Viking not taken into consideration. However *improbable*, therefore, it may be that a band of sea rovers should have devised and achieved so bold a project, there is still nothing to justify a belief in the *impossibility* of their having undertaken and successfully carried it out. Whether a better explanation of so singular a fact will ever be given is questionable, but the curious discovery of this hut will always impart a peculiar interest to the Sodertelge cutting.

Before taking leave of this famous line of canal, which traverses the peninsula of Sweden, and unites Western with Eastern Europe, we must say a few more words on

* The latter part of this passage runs in the French translated edition thus:—"On dit qu'il ne réussit à se sauver qu'en s'ouvrant un passage ou les eaux de ce lac trouverent un nouvel écoulement."

its history and progress. Hans Brask, Bishop of Linköping, first formally submitted the project to the Diet and Sten Sture, the administrator of the country, in 1516. They at once appreciated the value and importance of the undertaking, to which they gave a willing consent; and it was immediately commenced by a short cutting made near the Roxen Lake. The plans of the energetic Bishop were, however, suddenly arrested by the ruin which the Reformation entailed upon him and his class.

Gustavus Vasa, with all the desire to accomplish the scheme, found sufficient occupation in consolidating his power and establishing his dynasty, and it was not until the reign of his son John that an attempt was made to continue the work; but religious controversies at home and struggles abroad interfered with it, and the results that followed the second effort were as insignificant as those of the first. Constant wars, requiring all the energies of the people, and exhausting the finances of the country; the early and sudden deaths of the most enterprising monarchs, with the general confusion and excitement prevailing for the next two centuries, interfered with the progress of the canal, so that on the expiration of near three hundred years from its commencement, the locks of Lilla Edet and Trollhätta, with the cutting at Carlsgraf, were the only portions of the great line achieved.

The Count Platen, a man of superior intelligence and great energy, after profoundly studying the subject, became the persevering advocate for the completion of the project; and calling to his aid M. Bagge, a French, and Mr. Telford, an English engineer, comprehensive plans were prepared, laid before the Diet in 1809, and sanctioned by it after

much discussion and strenuous opposition. The financial embarrassments of Sweden were so great, that nothing could be advanced from the national exchequer; nor was anything to be expected from the resources of private individuals, whose fortunes had suffered through the heavy burdens imposed upon them by the war, and the system of taxation, which had become almost intolerable.

The productive industry of the country, too, was stagnant; agriculture languished, and scarcely sufficient food was raised to support the people; while the mines were left unworked,—their inexhaustible stores of wealth being consequently lost to the nation. Under these circumstances, many members of the Diet and other persons of influence regarded the scheme as rash in the extreme. They did not comprehend that giving easy access from one part of the country to another, by opening new channels of communication, would be the surest means of resuscitating industry and promoting commerce.

A foreign loan would *now* naturally suggest itself as the most facile method of escaping from the difficult position in which Count Platen and his colleagues were placed, but the principles of modern economy were not then sufficiently understood in Scandinavia, and another expedient was resorted to for raising the necessary funds.

There already existed in Sweden several establishments resembling joint-stock banks, which returned good interest for capital invested in them, and possessed public confidence. Count Platen, therefore, conceived the idea of forming a company and founding a bank on similar principles, but he proposed giving five per cent. only to the shareholders during the progress of the works, and

carrying these on with the surplus profits. When finished the canal was to become proprietary, but with the interest limited to nine per cent.; all beyond that being set aside for improvements.

This scheme was at first perfectly successful, and for several years the undertaking made rapid strides, but the failure of the Malmo bank, from mismanagement, in 1817, caused such universal consternation that a run took place upon all the other banks, and the canal company was involved in the general ruin that followed. So great was the public excitement that the King thought it necessary to summon an extraordinary Diet. The deputies who originally opposed Count Platen's proposition were now violent in triumphant enmity, and a reaction took place against the Canal Company.

The first successful working of the project had inspired the Government and the country with so much confidence, that in 1815 the Diet doubled the company's credit at the National Bank, and voted an annual subsidy of 300,000 rix dollars banco, or about 25,000*l.* The immediate effect of the altered state of public feeling in 1817 was the stoppage of this credit at the National Bank. The privilege of exercising the functions of bankers — although the very foundation relied on for success — was also cancelled, and a proposition was even made in the Diet to withdraw the annual subsidy — an unjust measure which the firmness of the King alone prevented being adopted.

So violent and unreasonable were the opposition, that they demanded the impeachment of Count Platen and his colleagues; but, to the honour of the Diet, it refused to

countenance an act of such gross injustice. Dignified in the midst of these calumnies, composed in spite of persecution, Count Platen's enemies found their weapons too blunt to wound a spirit protected by unusual magnanimity. Conscious of the purity of his motives, the accusations and invectives levelled against him only served to increase his perseverance in an undertaking that he felt confident would, when accomplished, prove highly beneficial to the interests of his country. Through his powerful exertions, therefore, the work was continued, but much more slowly than previously, and it was not completed until 1832. Count Platen, having died in 1829, had not therefore the satisfaction of witnessing the realisation of those hopes which had supported him under so many difficulties.

"It is a phenomenon without example," says M. le Duc, "that an enterprise which made the fortune of an entire kingdom, should have served only to ruin the private individuals who devoted themselves to its execution." The Gotha Canal cost nearly ten millions and a half of rix dollars banco, or 840,000*l.*, including the assistance rendered by the troops of the *indelta*—upwards of six thousand soldiers at one time having been employed upon the works. The company lately offered to sell their interest in the canal to the State for 1,050,000 rix dollars—about a tenth part of what the property cost; this, after deduction for debts, would make a loss to the shareholders of about sixty-six per cent. on 3,141,000 rix dollars, the amount of capital advanced by them directly to the undertaking.

Eight-and-thirty years have produced a wonderful revolution in the opinions of the public. Every Swede now

points to the Gotha Canal with pride, and regards it, not without reason, as reflecting great honour upon his country. Considering the drawbacks of war, dissensions, prejudices, poverty, and party passions that existed; together with the physical difficulties to be overcome, the accomplishment of so gigantic a work by a nation of comparatively so small a population, without any assistance from abroad, may indeed excite our profound admiration.

The traffic on the canal increases yearly, the resources of the country in its vicinity are being developed, the mineral riches find an outlet, industrial movement is generated, manufactories and founderies are established, civilization is extended, and the condition of the people ameliorated by a variety of causes, which owe their existence to this facility of transit. The number of vessels that passed through the canal in 1851 were — for the Trollhätta division, 4945, — 392 being steamers; while 2209 vessels, of which 486 were propelled by steam, navigated the other parts of the canal.

CHAP. XX.

THE MALAR LAKE. — STOCKHOLM, ROME, AND STAMBOUL. — STREETS OF THE SWEDISH CAPITAL. — A BEAUTIFUL PALACE. — STATUES AND OBELISK. — CHARMING POSITION OF STOCKHOLM. — DALECARLIAN MAIDENS.

WHO has not heard of the famed Malar Lake, with its fourteen hundred islands, its hundred and thirty chateaux, its ruined cities, its ancient seat of learning, its stirring associations, and its host of exciting legends? Or who has not heard of Stockholm, the bright Queen of the North, that rises so majestically from this lake's silver bosom?

On the shores of the Malar did that hero god Odin, as terrible in fight as persuasive in tongue, build Sigtuna, his first city, that endured through centuries of pagan rule, but received a first blow in 1180, when the Russians, supported by Esthonians and Livonians, crossed the Baltic, entered the Malar, attacked, pillaged, and set fire to the town, carrying away two silver gates as trophies to Novogorod. Thus Sigtuna's chief glory was gone, and when another religion taught men to regard as a demon her founder, whom they had once adored as their god; neglect accompanied the loss of veneration, and utter desolation fell upon her; so that the crumbling ruins of some towers are all that now remain of heathen temples.

Nature has again assumed dominion over the scattered fragments of rock on which man laboured with so much anxious care; the herb grows upon, while the tendrilled roots of birch and pine push between, the blocks of chiselled masonry, and beasts seek food on the very spot where long flowed the blood of human beings, victims to the sacrificial rites of a frightful superstition.

On the Malar, too, settled the first colony of Christian missionaries, who, with their successors, struggled for ages to overcome the Scandinavian gods, ere they were finally successful. The small island of Birka, in the vicinity of Sigtuna, was the spot where these monks built their abodes, of which a few pavements, and some foundation-stones only could be traced when the locality was visited by the traveller Catteau.

From the Malar issued also, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, hundreds of those Viking expeditions, which carried desolation near and far; while on these very waters many a sanguinary fight occurred between the rival fleets of Northern rovers. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war," are words that represent the highest pitch of classic heroism; but "When Northman meets Northman, then comes the clutch of death," would better illustrate the furious combats of those Scandinavian pirates.

The sacred shores of Lake Tiberias, and the wooded heights of Lago di Lugano, — Loch Catrine's craggy rocks, and Como's laughing banks,— Leman's mountain borders, and four-Canton bound Lucerne, have their own peculiar attractions; but for *variety*, the Malar will vie with, if not surpass, every other lake of the world.

Grim sterility, and softest verdure, — the wildness of nature, and the formality of art, — gayest gardens, and greenest meadows,— timbered parks, and sloping lawns,— brownest rocks, and noblest trees, — now a little church half buried in foliage,— now a peasant's cottage surrounded with flowers, — now a mouldering tower, venerable and severe,— now a country mansion, tasteful and gay, appeared in rapid succession, as we sped on our course.

Channel after channel opened to view, as island after island faded away; tiny skiffs shot between islets, deeply laden vessels crept slowly along, active little steamers passed swiftly by, the fisherman spread his white sails to the breeze, while the Dalecarlian maids urged onward their hand-paddle wheel-boats.

The morning sun, from a blue sky above, lent some of his brightness to bluer waters below, and tinged with his rays each object, moving or fixed, thus producing a play of light and shade ever changing, always enchanting, — the very essence of the picturesque.

But what is that which rises chastely beautiful before us? It is Stockholm, fair Stockholm, upon her seven islands; as Rome, or Stamboul, upon her seven hills. There is something wondrously captivating about this youngest daughter of the Malar, as we first catch sight of her. She may not have the dignified grandeur of her Italian sister, whose sterner and more classic beauty is mellowed by the softer southern light; she may not possess all those charms that are by oriental colouring thrown over the old Byzantian capital; but she has a freshness, a chastity, and a light, joyous expression, which are irresistible.

The view of Stockholm, from the Baltic, is even more captivating than from the Malar, for on the former side the contrasts of the neighbouring scenery are observed to greater advantage. There the combination of abundant foliage with naked rocks is most striking, giving to the palace-crowned city additional effect.

While absorbed in contemplating all the objects, new and pleasing, that surrounded us, we were startled by the report of a cannon, a second bang following immediately after, and then two wreaths of smoke were seen gracefully curling over the bows of our vessel. What could this hostile demonstration mean? Did our skipper intend to take the city by a *coup de main*, or did he desire to frighten some of the small boys who were gambolling on the quay? Neither one nor the other; we were only giving the customary salute on reaching the end of our voyage, and ere we had quitted the steamer several more reports announced the departure of other vessels. Taking the number of craft arriving at and departing from Stockholm into consideration, the expenditure of gunpowder in these useless demonstrations during the year, must be considerable.

We experienced no trouble on landing either from custom-house officers, or the agents of police who examined our passports; and after having said adieu to the agreeable companions with whom we had spent three pleasant days, we drove to Bairn's Hotel, where we remained a night or two in second-rate quarters, and then procured private apartments, clean, comfortable, and agreeably situated.

A few hours' walk about the streets is sufficient to give

a tolerable idea of this city. The royal palace is the most prominent object; being built upon an elevation, it is seen to advantage from every side, and is the point to which one always appears to be returning. The houses are mostly well built, and a few of the principal streets are long, straight, and wide, the others being generally too narrow for their length; but the pitching is even more abominable than that of Copenhagen. It consists of stones of all sizes and shapes, some standing high above their neighbours, others sinking into ruts; a point here, an angle there, each being ingeniously arranged beside some loose companion, beneath which in wet weather a certain quantity of dirty water collects; so that in avoiding one inconvenience you come upon a second, and if the friend by your side be very neat and particular in his person, he is much to be pitied, for most assuredly the polish of his boots will suffer from a considerable amount of splashing. Lucky, indeed, is the individual who returns from his first day's perambulation through the streets of Stockholm, without spraining or dislocating an ankle. Bad as this state of things is by day, the dangers are multiplied at night, when the twilight, beautiful and soft as it is, only renders the lines and asperities more indistinct.

The place was not lighted with gas at the period of our visit, but a French engineer had submitted to the King plans for doing so, and Stockholm is *now* on an equality in this respect with other European towns, behind which she had so long lingered.

Few private carriages are seen in the streets, and nowhere is observed the bustle and movement that are found in some particular localities of every other city. The

tradespeople not having yet arrived at the knowledge that a tasteful display of their wares is the surest temptation to purchase, take no trouble in arranging their shops, which consequently present few attractions to the street-lounger.

The city proper is built upon three islands, so united together, however, by bridges, that they appear but one. Here are collected all the buildings and churches of importance, and here historical associations lend their interest to certain localities and edifices that otherwise possess no remarkable features. Here, too, one finds several narrow tortuous streets,—old, solid, irregular buildings; and some monuments, that plainly indicate it to be the locality on which Stockholm made her *début* in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The architecture of the churches is generally plain, and without majesty, and such beauties as those edifices might originally have possessed are entirely destroyed by the repairs that from time to time have been made. The cathedral especially has lost externally nearly all traces of its Gothic origin. The churches are, however, numerous, and their towers and spires contribute much to the general effect.

There is but one striking building in the town,—that is the palace; but it is so admirably situated, and its noble outlines are so conspicuous from a hundred points of view, that a stranger is at first impressed with the idea of fine handsome structures being more numerous. Standing on its lofty granite pedestal, surrounded by terraces, having an elevation of six stories, and a length of three hundred feet towards the north-west, this palace rises a magnificent

pile high above all surrounding buildings, and commands an extensive view over the Baltic on one, and the Malar Lake on the other hand. It was finished in 1753, and had for architects Nichodemus Tessin and his son Count Charles Gustavus, who having at their disposal the finest site in Europe, had the talent and the taste to appreciate and take advantage of it.

They chose the Italian style of architecture in its pure form, and appear to have judged so well the proportions calculated to produce the greatest æsthetic effect, that after examining the edifice on every side, and by a variety of lights, we could conceive no kind of alteration proving advantageous. The wings are in such complete harmony with the main building that one immediately recognises the poetry of architecture, and at once appreciates that expression, "petrified music," when applied to a structure of architectural perfection. The north and south-eastern wings push far in advance, and form the side boundaries of a pretty garden, open in front and backed by the lofty pile in the rear. Statues and vases of bright-coloured flowers here decorate and enliven, while brilliant parterres pleasingly contrast with other objects around.

The plateau on which the palace stands is reached on the north-western side by two inclined planes, guarded by colossal lions in bronze. All the façades are different, but all are equally beautiful; and this variety contributes to the illusion one labours under at first, when coming upon the building from opposite directions. The basement story is of granite, while those above are of brick faced with stucco, a material which usually detracts from the appearance of a structure such as this, but here — from the

good workmanship, the nature of the light, and the distance whence the palace is generally seen—it might be mistaken for a fine white limestone.

The Swedes are proud, as well they may be, of this noble pile, which crowns and beautifies their city, while it forms a residence worthy of their Kings. Without it, indeed, Stockholm would lose half her beauty. It is the first object that rivets the traveller's attention on arriving, it is the last which sinks from his view on departure. Being the sole architectural triumph of the place, all the other public buildings appear, after it, externally uninteresting. Fine barracks, good hospitals, the exchange, mint, and the theatre, are all edifices well adapted to their uses, and imposing from their size, but nothing more.

There are, however, several statues, excellent as works of art, and highly ornamental to the town. An equestrian one, in bronze, of Gustavus Adolphus, stands in the square bearing his name. It was executed in 1796 by Gerard Meyer, and rests on a pedestal of Swedish marble, on each face of which is a medallion, in low relief, by Sergel, containing portraits of Wrangel, Torstenson, Baner, and Königsmark — four celebrated generals of that great champion of Protestantism.

A colossal statue, also in bronze, of Gustavus III. is placed upon the quay in front of the palace. It was erected by the citizens to the glory of that monarch, who fell by the assassin's hand, in the moment of revelry, at a masked ball in the theatre. The attitude in which Gustavus is represented is well conceived. The figure is partly covered by the drapery of a cloak, the left hand holding a wreath of laurel and resting on a rudder — emblematic of

the king's victories gained by sea; while the extended right hand presents a branch, or rather a twig of olive, much too small to be in just proportion. This work is by Sergel, and has for its pedestal a fine block of porphyry.

A bronze statue of Gustavus Vasa, erected in 1773 by the nobility in honour of the liberator of their country, stands on the Riddarsholm Square. It is eleven feet high, and was executed by a French sculptor, Pierre l'Archevêque; but any merits it may possess are entirely lost by the disproportionately small pedestal and the iron railing by which it is surrounded.

There is also a fine statue of Charles XIII., modelled by Goethe, and cast in Paris. It was erected in 1822, on the *Place d'Armes*, by Charles XIV. (Bernadotte), as a tribute to his predecessor, by whom he was adopted as a son and heir to the crown, and whose influence did much towards fixing the present dynasty on the throne of Sweden. Charles, supported by an anchor, is dressed in the Swedish costume, having a cloak which falls about his person in ample folds. Four lions repose at the angles of a granite pedestal; and the whole, being of bronze, has considerable merit as a work of art, and is very imposing.

Stockholm possesses also another monument of a very different character. Those we have described were erected by the nation in honour of their Sovereigns, or by Kings of their predecessors; but this was the testimony of admiration from a Monarch to his subjects, and commemorates the heroism of the *bourgeoisie* in defending their capital during the war with Russia in 1788–89. It consists of a granite obelisk, as high as the palace, by the side of which it stands, on the Slottsbacken.

Many private houses, and some of the foreign ministerial residences, are good, but all of the same monotonous exterior. There is nothing beyond what we have mentioned above, to attract attention in the streets, which are in reality more lifeless than those of any other capital we are acquainted with. No brilliant cafés like those of Paris, no fine hotels as at Frankfort on the Maine or Hamburg, no elegant shops as on the *Graben* at Vienna or in Brussels, no *passages*, no well-appointed equipages, no busy multitude streaming along, are there; but to make up for this dulness, one comes at every turn upon views so charming, so characteristic of the place, and withal so enjoyable in tranquillity, that one soon forgets, or ceases to regret, the absence of movement that would otherwise invest Stockholm with an unusual amount of *ennui*.

A noble granite bridge connects the northern suburb with the city, and spans the channel through which the Malar pours its waters into the Baltic. Here there is a slight fall, just sufficient to give voice to the rushing flood and toss it into crested waves. There is no town in the world where nature and art are brought into closer juxtaposition. Stockholm is kissed on one cheek by the ripples of a lake, on the other saluted by the billows of a sea; while crystal streams, bright and murmuring, flow through the heart, and give to her a life and spirit which are wanting from the movement or the busy hum of man. On one hand overhung by brown rocks that with stern aridity refuse a crevice even to the abstemious pine; on the other fringed by the King's park and *Djurgård*, where in perfection flourish trees and gardens, and the softest verdure. Thus all that living waters give to the beautiful, all that

gushing streams add to the picturesque, all that rock, and flood, and foliage can do for urban scenery, are here combined to produce a *tout ensemble* most enchanting.

Go not, therefore, stranger, into the *streets* of Stockholm to seek her charms, but rather view her from the water or the neighbouring hills, when the bright sun is reflected from her white buildings, and the old towers, domes, and spires are clearly outlined, when the tall masts cast their shadows on the Baltic, and the light boats flit to and fro; or, if thou wilt, gaze upon her tranquilly reposing when the white twilight throws over her the filmiest veil, that, while softening, refines, yet does not lessen her beauty, but renders it more mysterious and more dreamy.

We found the same necessity here of seeking our dinners at a *restaurant* as we had experienced at Gottenburg; but the capital seemed no better supplied with comfortable establishments of this description than the provincial town. During the summer months many who can spare the time cross by the ferry-boats to the Djurgård (deer park), where are numerous dining-houses.

On the day of our arrival an acquaintance well initiated, from lengthened residence, into the mysteries of Swedish habits and Stockholm life, accompanied us to the Djurgård, and there took us to what was considered the best *restaurant;* but bad indeed was the best. After partaking of the *sup* we sat at a little table and dined *a la carte,* all the dishes being indifferently cooked and worse served. Let not the gourmand who has long rejoiced in the *cuisine* of Paris or Vienna, and who cannot with facility throw off his affection for the *recherché* dishes to which he has been accustomed, ever dream of going to Stockholm, unless,

indeed, it be to visit some friend in whose taste he has confidence, and of whose cook he has seen a certificate of artistic talent.

Nationally, Swedish cooking is indifferent, and we found all the *restaurants* in Stockholm and its suburbs equally undeserving of any commendatory remarks. If a traveller happen, however, to be endowed with a particularly "sweet tooth," he may object to our criticism of the Swedish *cuisine*, for he will find sugar introduced into such a variety of dishes as to afford his taste for saccharine matter the fullest gratification; let such an one by all means seek his daily meal in a kind of dining establishment found in every quarter of Stockholm, and called a *källare* (cellar), where the character of the frequenters is not sufficiently cosmopolitan to have influenced the host or the cook when catering for their wants.

The källare is also an humble representative of the *café*, which, properly so called, does not exist, although there are establishments combining some of its attributes with those of a confectioner's shop. The kind of house where one takes the after-dinner cup of coffee in the Djurgård is somewhat different to either of the above; for, being intended to attract holiday folk, it displays more comfort and elegance of arrangement.

But if one dines badly in the Djurgård, finding little to stimulate the appetite or gratify the palate, there are out of door attractions such as are rarely brought together in one locality. Here are combined all the beauties of a park, a garden, and a wood; the ground is undulating and the extent considerable, while theatres, ball-rooms, and other places of amusement are found; and, in the summer months,

numbers of pleasure-seekers are always to be seen, lounging, walking, or engaged in those pastimes congenial to their inclinations. Thousands flock to this pleasant retreat in holiday time, so that it presents a scene of great animation. Being situated within a mile of Stockholm by land, and less by water, it is accessible to all classes. The lower orders are seen trudging along the roads on foot, while carriages, a great variety of omnibuses, and other vehicles, dash on at a rapid pace.

The route by water is equally animated; the ferry-boats are propelled by paddle-wheels turned by hand, and worked by Dalecarlian girls, who come from their homes in the summer, and return again in the winter with their savings. They are generally thick-set, muscular maidens, not unlike the young Newhaven fishwives seen in Edinburgh. Their costume is highly picturesque, consisting of a short green or brown woollen petticoat; a red body *à la Turque*, open in front to display the neat folds of a white chemisette, the sleeves of which cover the arms; scarlet stockings; and very thick, cumbrous shoes, having the heels inconveniently placed in the middle of the foot. A striped apron of bright colours is sometimes worn. The hair is always neatly arranged, the head being either bare, or covered with a small white, close-fitting cap.

These *Dahlkulla* are seldom pretty; but good eyes and teeth give light to their rubicund faces, which are, moreover, generally expressive of extreme good temper. They talk freely with the passengers in their boat, and tell their histories—often sorrowful ones—with unsophisticated communicativeness. Should anything excite their mirth, they display it by joyous laughter, which does not fail to

strike a sympathetic chord of hilarity in the bosom of every hearer. Sometimes they will sing snatches of their wild popular melodies, parts of the very songs, perhaps, which stirred their forefathers on to heroism, in those days when they rose to a man and followed the young Gustavus Vasa, as he sallied forth from the depths of their valleys clothed in the armour of Protestantism, to combat with royal tyranny, to avenge his father's cruel murder, and to fight against the Church of Rome, — three objects the triumphant achievement of which he chiefly owed to the determined valour of his faithful Dalecarlians.

These boat-maidens come to Stockholm at an age between seventeen and twenty, and are generally engaged to be married. They store up with care the fruits of their hard work during the short summer season, which enables them to commence housekeeping with some degree of comfort; while such goodly signs of industry and thrift can but prove agreeable to their lovers, who, during their absence, have also been exerting themselves to gain wherewithal to render their start in matrimonial life easy.

A peculiar interest is given to these girls from the circumstance that, amidst all the temptations and dangers they are exposed to in the metropolis, they are celebrated for extreme virtue. They also excite a certain degree of romance, from stories told of their constancy in love, their disappointments, and their sorrows. Of course these tales make the heroines very beautiful; but none such had we the good fortune to meet with.

CHAP. XXI.

FINE ARTS COLLECTIONS.—ROYAL LIBRARY.—AN INTERESTING CHURCH.—ARMOURED KNIGHTS.—FORTUNE'S FAVOURED CHILD.—A COMPARISON.

STOCKHOLM is not so rich in museums as Copenhagen; still there are several collections highly creditable to the nation; and amongst them is one of Scandinavian antiquities, consisting of ancient coins, objects in stone, bronze, gold, iron, and silver, of a similar description to and arranged on the same plan as those in Denmark. Having spoken at some length of these interesting memorials, it is not my intention here to enter again on the subject; nevertheless, it should be recorded, to the honour of the Swedish government, that they also give full value for all objects of antiquity brought to them, and offer every encouragement to induce finders to make known their discoveries. This system has been eminently successful; many highly interesting and valuable specimens in the precious metals, that would probably otherwise have been melted down, having been secured to the country.

The collection of pictures is rather extensive; it contains works by old masters of the various schools, several of which possess great merit; but although in good preservation, there are such a number of other paintings

beneath mediocrity, that one leaves the gallery with disappointment.

Not so, however, did we quit that of sculpture, which, though not very large, contains some gems that one might linger near for hours without fully satisfying the admiration they excite. Amongst the ancient works are busts and statues of Roman emperors from the collection of Piranesi, of admirable execution, and worthy of a place in any museum of Europe. Apollo, too, and the Muses take high rank; but the "Sleeping Endymion" is one of those inspirations of genius that at once strike and captivate every beholder. The sculptor has represented the youthful shepherd lying in a position of perfect repose—easy, graceful, but not in that profound sleep which robs the countenance of all expression. There is about the features a play of pleasurable emotion, yet so slight, so little removed from apathy, that one marvels how the chisel could have depicted with such exquisite delicacy an indication of feeling so shadowy. One might imagine a pleasing vision of the fair Chromia to have flitted across the brain, stirring up gentlest thoughts of love that had found expression in the face, and were just dying on the lips of the slumbering youth. This precious work was discovered amidst the ruins of Adrian's Villa near Tivoli in 1783, and was bought at Rome the following year for the sum of two thousand ducats.

But this gallery does not owe all its interest to the productions of ancient masters. There are many examples of native talent which demonstrate how ardently the art of sculpture has been cultivated in Sweden. The ancient Swedish kings Odin and his sons Thor and Balder, of

colossal size, by Fogelberg, are remarkably fine. Having sought for his subjects characters that existed at so early a period as to be known only by tradition, which invested them with the attributes of gods, in addition to those of earthly sovereigns, the sculptor has succeeded in representing, with considerable talent, the combined qualities said by the legendary annals of Scandinavia to have existed in these deified heroes. The statue of Odin, especially, is full of majesty and power. Some of the female figures of Byström are charming, the artist in these creations emulating even the great Thorwaldsen.

The group of "Cupid and Psyche," by Sergel, has justly become celebrated for its beauty and the genius with which it is conceived and executed. There are many other interesting works by these three Swedish masters, as well as by Goethe, that not only do credit to them, but confer lasting honour upon their country.

The royal library will not bear comparison with many other European collections; nevertheless, when the comparatively recent date of its foundation is taken into consideration, we can scarcely be surprised at the number of volumes amounting to less than seventy thousand. There are some rare manuscripts and books dating from a period soon after the art of printing was invented. These were principally brought from Prague by the celebrated Königsmark as trophies of the Thirty Years' War. We found two curious volumes side by side; one was a Bible that belonged to Luther, with annotations on the margins in the handwriting of the great reformer; the other, a folio in manuscript on vellum, called the "Devil's Code" (Teufels-codex), a name it derives from containing the

drawing of a grotesque figure representing his Satanic Majesty. There is another folio manuscript of the Gospels in Latin, written in Gothic characters of gold on alternate leaves of white and purple vellum. It is known as the "*Codex Aureus*," is thought to be of the sixth century, and is one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient writing we remember to have seen.

The cabinet of coins and medallions is very rich in Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and Oriental specimens. We examined with deep interest a medal, of which there are now believed to be only five or six extant, which were presented by Gustavus Adolphus to his distinguished followers; and singular enough, Gordon of Pitlurg, the friend who accompanied me on these travels, and Mr. Hope Vere, who was then in Stockholm, each possesses one of them, received by an ancestor from the hand of that immortal Swede. Those gentlemen may well guard these medals, as treasured memorials which shed lustre over their families, for to have been thought worthy of such distinction by such a man, their ancestors must have possessed rare qualities indeed.

All the above collections, together with an Egyptian and Etruscan gallery, are contained in the royal palace. The choicest pictures, however, are in the King's and the Queen Dowager's private apartments, where there are many beautiful examples of the Dutch and Flemish schools, which we shall not here enumerate. Some excellent works by Swedish sculptors are there also; Byström's "Dancing Nymph" and Sergel's "Venus" rival each other in beauty, one being the very poetry of grace in action, the other the very pathos of symmetry in repose. "Hero

watching the arrival of Leander" (by the former artist) is equally to be admired, — the intense longings of anxious, loving, hopeful expectancy, being depicted with life-like truthfulness in the countenance and attitude of the enamoured priestess.

Of all the sights in Stockholm, that which excites the most profound interest is the interior of the Riddarsholm Church, now only used as a great mausoleum for the Kings of Sweden. The first impression on entering this edifice is extraordinary; it conveys more the idea of a vast arena, wherein are assembled warriors ready for the combat, than the peaceful resting-place of those whom the din and clang of war can no longer rouse to heroism. In front, behind, on either side, we behold mounted knights, each armed *cap-à-pie*, with visor down, and lance in rest, as though waiting but the signal to charge his adversary. Hung to the walls are a goodly array of escutcheons, while here and there are seen numerous flags and weapons tastefully arranged, and giving due martial effect to this feudal-looking spectacle. The vaulted roof, too, of the Middle Age architecture, forms a fitting canopy for the chivalric scene.

It is only when the eye falls upon the altar, and the echoed footsteps break the deathlike silence, that one awakes to the reality of being in a church — that one feels conscious of moving within the precincts of a huge sepulchre. Then one remarks the rigid stillness of the chevaliers, and finds each suit of armour, that once encased the body of a King, now serving only to cover a figure made of rubbish; that each helmet, now concealing but a block of wood, once held a royal brain, whence emanated

thoughts and plans that stirred up passions, to quench the fire of which required the blood of victim thousands. Where are now those fiery brains, those stalwart bodies? Ah, poor mortality! They rot and moulder in the crypts beneath our feet, as worthless as the very blocks and rubbish that here constitute their effigies.

This is the heavy armour of Birger Jarl, the founder of Stockholm,—the relentless crusader against the pagan Finns,—the scourge of piratical bands,—the wielder of royal power in Sweden without possessing the rank of King,—he who has left a name as much renowned for perfidy as for wisdom or for bravery. One act of deep treachery in particular sullies the Jarl's fame. Clad, perhaps, in the very suit of iron before us, Birger went forth with his followers to meet some members of the powerful Fulkungar family and their retainers, who opposed his rule. After combating with, but not subduing them, he proposed a peace, invited the chiefs to his camp, and, when they appeared there unarmed, he, in violation of a solemn oath, handed them over to the axe of the executioner.

This curious visor, representing a man's face, was worn by Charles VIII., and well may typify the mask of hypocrisy by which he raised himself to the throne of the deposed King Eric of Pomerania. The reign of Charles was one of singular vicissitude. Having offended the clergy by attempting to possess himself of some Church property, the proud Archbishop of Upsal, Oxenstiern, renounced allegiance to the King, solemnly deposited his cross, his golden mitre, and his cassock on the altar, in the presence of the assembled people, then, buckling

on the cuirass and grasping the sword, proclaimed himself no longer a priest but a soldier. Oxenstiern besieged Stockholm, and forced Charles to fly from the country. Recalled to the throne after years of exile, Charles was again resolutely attacked by the martial churchman, and again obliged to seek safety in flight; but after a shorter period of banishment, he ascended the throne a third time, and died in his capital in 1470.

Look at that shield of exquisite Italian workmanship! it belonged to the usurper John, who, not content with robbing his brother, Eric XIV., of his crown, kept him prisoner for many years, and then poisoned him in his dungeon. The elaborate decoration of John's buckler contrasts with the coarser armour of Birger Jarl, displaying a taste in the former for more refined art, which, unfortunately, was accompanied with no corresponding elevation of sentiment.

This magnificent armour was the knightly suit of John's brother and successor, Charles IX. It is of the richest and most costly workmanship, being covered from casque to foot with designs in high relief, any of which might form a study for an artist. The whole is said to be from the hand of that cunning and ingenious craftsman, Benvenuto Cellini; but whether it be the production of that great master in the metallurgic art seems doubtful, not from the absence of merit, but from a comparison of dates, Cellini having died at a period when Charles was probably too young to have worn such a suit; yet there was at that time no other artist of known celebrity to whom can be referred this work of consummate genius.

There are in the church altogether eleven effigies of

knights on their chargers in full armour, to each of which much interest appertains; but other objects merit our attention.

To the original structure have been added many chapels, which now form a series of large recesses, containing memorials that call forth touching souvenirs. The first we enter contains the sarcophagus of the great Gustavus Adolphus, decorated with a hundred banners, and other trophies of his military successes while fighting in the cause of Protestantism: flags, drums, and keys of captured towns are conspicuously disposed around the chapel, each of which, if able to speak, could tell an exciting tale; but they are eloquent even in their muteness, and plainly say how much every Protestant is indebted to him by whose tomb we stand, for all his glorious efforts to uphold their faith, against the power of those who fought so desperately to maintain the supremacy of the Romish Church. Beneath a glass-case are the clothes worn by Gustavus when killed on the field of Lutzen. We looked with reverence on the blood, now desiccated, that flowed from the mortal wound received at that battle into which he led his gallant Swedes to the cry of "God be with us!" Yes! that heap of dingy garments now before us, drank up the vital stream which poured from as true a heart as ever beat within the breast of man. Sweden grieved, and all in Europe who sighed for freedom grieved, for Gustavus Adolphus.

We cross the choir, and enter a second chapel, containing the ashes of another Swedish hero, the brilliant and impetuous Charles XII., who, like a vivid coruscation, flashed through the northern world, leaving only

the memory of his dazzling brightness. The tomb is of marble, ornamented with gilded copper; and near it are placed the clothes and hat through which the assassin's bullet passed that, at Frederickshald, terminated the existence of this most extraordinary man. Around this chapel also are hung banners and other warlike trophies, and amongst them a standard said to have been taken by Charles himself from the hands of a Polish king.

In the vaults beneath the choir are deposited the remains of many other Monarchs or royal personages, young and old. Amongst them we noticed the coffins of Charles Gustavus and Gustavus III.; but one handsomer than the others particularly attracted our attention,—it was that of Charles XIV., the last sovereign who found a resting-place in this abode of death, the first of a new dynasty sprung from a foreign race, the child of fortune and fortune's favoured child, the successful French soldier, who, having fought his way from the ranks to a marshal's bâton and a dukedom, was chosen to wear the crown of Sweden, to wield that sceptre which had been in the iron clutch of so many mighty Sovereigns, and had fallen from the feeble grasp of so many unworthy Kings. Strange freak of destiny! What prophet could have foreseen that the lawyer's child who first saw light in the remote Pyrenean town of Pau, in 1764, was destined to sit on the throne of Gustavus Vasa.

We stood some minutes near the dust of Bernadotte, for there were other things beside his extraordinary career to awaken a train of thoughts. Fresh, sweet-scented flowers, the only bright-looking things in the gloomy crypt, were strewed on the top of his coffin. What hand

had placed them there? We know not. Yet were they pleasing to look upon, forming as they did a link that connected the living with the dead, being signs, we doubted not, either of filial piety or a widow's tender sorrows,—perhaps of both these sentiments. Their freshness contrasted, too, with the sombre-looking mortuary boxes containing the ashes of extinct dynasties. On *them* no friendly hand had placed such gentle souvenirs; and even the sexton who had charge of the vaults, cared not to disturb the spider in his occupation of spinning webs between these mildewed coffins.

Bernadotte has been compared with Henry the Great of France, and there is in several respects a striking similarity in their characters and careers. Both were born at Pau, and both from their earliest youth had been accustomed to gaze upon that glorious range of mountains which separates France from Spain; both, perhaps, too had derived some of their noblest sentiments from thus so early and so often contemplating the sublime; for we can scarcely imagine any being to possess within him the germs of greatness who could, unmoved by exalted aspirations, frequently look upon the snow-capped Pyrenees as they are seen from the terrace at Pau, stretching east and west as far as the eye can reach, and rising range over range in awful majesty. Both were successful and highly distinguished generals. Henry had witnessed the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, Bernadotte the sanguinary scenes of the Reign of Terror. Each put on a crown amidst the acclamations of a nation, and each, in order to wear that crown, abjured the faith of his fathers; each found his dominions prostrate and their finances

wasted when he assumed the reins of power, and each was equally successful in restoring their prosperity and giving to them a tranquillity that had not existed for many long years before his accession. Hénault has said of Henry, that "he united to extreme frankness the most dextrous policy, to the most elevated sentiments a charming simplicity of manners, and to a soldier's courage an inexhaustible fund of humanity"; and those words might with equal justice have been inscribed upon Bernadotte's tomb. Thus far runs the parallel; but there was a wide difference between these two great men in the beginning and ending of their careers. Henry, the child of royal birth, became a King, but was cut off in the prime of life by the assassin's hand; while Bernadotte, the Monarch of plebeian origin, died peaceably on his throne at a good old age.

In the Riddarsholm Church there are also interred members of many noble Swedish families distinguished in the history of their country. The choir is hung with the shields of deceased Knights of the Seraphim*; amongst which we observed the escutcheon of Napoleon the Great, whose nephew, Napoleon III., has lately been decorated also with this order.

* The Swedish orders consist of the Order of the Seraphim (the highest), of the Sword (a military order), of the Polar Star, of Wasa, and of Charles XIII. The present King Oscar also founded that of St. Olaf, in 1847, expressly as a Norwegian honour.

CHAP. XXII.

THE RIDDARHUS.—SWEDISH NOBILITY.—THE "DIET" OF SWEDEN.—THE ORDER OF THE CLERGY.—RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE.—A THREATENED SCHISM.—NATIONAL EDUCATION.—SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.—THE ORDER OF THE PEASANTS.

WE walked from the church to the Riddarhus, or Nobles' House of Assembly, a plain undignified old pile, but rich in historical and exciting souvenirs. The walls of the great hall are decorated with three thousand shields, representing every illustrious family of Sweden, and recalling many a name celebrated for deeds performed far beyond the limits of the Scandinavian shores.

This hall has been the scene of events full of stirring interest. Here it was that Gustavus Vasa received the thanks of his countrymen, after he had succeeded in hurling the tyrant Christian from the throne. But even at that moment all was not joy, for Gustavus found Stockholm in a wretched state of desolation—civil war having committed sad havoc in the city, half the houses being deserted, while not a quarter of the population remained to welcome their deliverer. He invited the burgesses of other towns to settle in the capital, and made great efforts to restore its prosperity; but many years elapsed before Stockholm recovered from the effects of Christian's disastrous rule.

There are in Sweden about two thousand four hundred noble families, consisting of eleven thousand persons of both sexes—or one in every three hundred and sixteen of the whole population—possessing landed property, estimated at seventy-one millions of rixdollars (5,916,666*l.*)—an average of less than thirty-thousand dollars, or 2500*l.*, for each family. It will therefore be understood that many of the Swedish nobles are not only ill off, but are extremely poor; yet so great is their pride, so absurd are their notions as to what may compromise their personal dignity, or so ignorant are they of the present opinions of the world on this point, that, as a class, they repudiate all commercial or industrial pursuits, wrapping themselves up closely in a mantle of prejudice, and permitting their families to remain in a state of penury rather than make an effort to relieve them by means which their false ideas proclaim to be derogatory. In this respect the Swedish forms a perfect contrast to the Russian noble: go where you will in Russia you find manufactories belonging to princes, counts, or barons—many of the largest concerns in the country being carried on by individuals as much esteemed for their great intelligence as for their exalted rank.

When the Swedish nobility enjoyed their highest privileges they possessed a fifth part of the kingdom—a circumstance that did much to hasten their downfall, for they exercised a power so great as to be alike repugnant to the kings and people; the former, therefore, were only too glad to wage war upon their property, which consequently suffered considerable reductions at various periods, but more especially during the reign of Charles XI., when

their wealth was most seriously curtailed, while now it is annually diminishing from other causes. It is calculated that, between 1831 and 1841, land to the value of eighteen million dollars banco (1,500,000*l.*) was sold or mortgaged from the demesnes of the Swedish nobility; so that there appears every prospect of their influence daily decreasing, unless they throw aside their prejudices and resort to the only means whereby they are likely to retrieve their fortunes.

There can be little doubt but this deep-rooted objection to commercial occupations on the part of the higher ranks, has had considerable influence on the opinions of the class below, and has thereby greatly conduced to retard the development of the country's resources. We have shown, when speaking of Nylödöse, how unsuccessful were the efforts of Gustavus Vasa to induce his subjects to take advantage of the commercial privileges he offered them, and how he was obliged to invite foreigners to settle in his dominions who gathered that wealth which the Swedes were silly enough to reject.

Whether the present state of prosperity in Sweden, and the revolution which the system of railways now in progress cannot fail, when completed, to produce, will be attended with a beneficial change in the ideas of the poorer nobility, remains to be seen; in the meantime, every office in the State, about the court, and in the army are eagerly sought for by the aristocracy, while appointments that require any deep knowledge of the sciences, or demand profound study, are generally left to those of more plebeian birth. Taking the military, for example, it is said that, among the aides-de-camp and officers of

ordonnance to the King, the aides-de-camp general, the officers of the staff, and the officers of the guard, there exists a proportion between the nobles and non-nobles of a hundred and sixty-seven to twenty; while in the learned corps, such as the artillery and engineers, the proportion is inverse. This singular fact, however, must not be taken as indicating want of capacity in the higher ranks, but as arising from the same adherence to the traditions of a *caste* which prevents their following so many other pursuits.

The aristocracy of Sweden are amongst the oldest in Europe; and although in the days when they possessed great power they were not always wont to use it with discretion, often acting tyrannically towards the people, still some of the greatest reformers of Europe sprang from their body, as well as the ablest generals and best diplomatists; while at the present time are found among their members statesmen of eminent talent, and many men of most enlightened minds.

The chief of every noble family takes his seat in the *Diet* by right, and not by election; he has, moreover, the power of appointing a substitute in case of non-attendance. There are not, however, usually more than four hundred nobles present at the meetings of the Diet — a comparatively small number of the whole body. This defection is to be accounted for by the inability of many to bear the expenses, and by an attachment of others to the old dynasty, leading them to absent themselves from all public affairs.

Having said thus much of one order in the State, we shall take a glance at the three others composing the Diet

of Sweden; they consist of the clergy, the burgesses, and the peasants. Each body assembles separately for discussion and deliberation; so that the whole Diet is made up of four distinct Chambers, averaging about seven hundred and twenty-five members. Of these the clergy send seventy-two, the burgesses a hundred and two, and the peasants a hundred and fifty. The Chamber of Nobles, therefore, generally musters a far greater number of members at the sitting of the Diet than all the others put together, — a majority, however, which gives no advantage. The three lower orders are elective, the nobles only sitting in the Diet by right of birth.

An ordinary measure is definitively carried if three out of the four assemblies pass it; but a motion that affects the basis of taxation, or a proposition to modify the privileges of one of the orders, must receive the sanction of the whole.

The Clerical Order takes rank after that of the nobles. The Archbishop of Upsala, the eleven bishops of the country, and the *Pastor Primarius* of Stockholm are, *ex officio*, members of this order in the Diet, the others being elected by and from the clergy of the dioceses.

There are nearly thirteen hundred beneficed clergymen in Sweden, while about nineteen hundred more are attached to the universities and other educational establishments, or are not invested with full pastoral charges, — the whole, with their families, consisting of about fifteen thousand persons, male and female. To the first class alone belongs the privilege of furnishing members for the Diet. There are included among the deputies in the Chamber of Clergy a certain number of lay professors from the Universities and the Academy of Sciences; but those from the latter

must neither be of noble blood, nor hold any but purely civil rank.

The fixed revenues of the Church are derived from property valued at about a million of dollars banco (83,333*l.*); but independent of this, the clergy receive incomes from tithes, official grants, and some casual sources, which produce sufficient funds to give a comfortable and even liberal stipend to each incumbent — not so large, perhaps, as that possessed by the lucky holder of a good living in England, but never so small as the pittance that falls to the lot of so many English clergymen.

Sweden is the only Protestant country in the world with an uniform religion; for a schism (to be noticed hereafter) which is springing up, can at present be regarded only as an exceptional movement. Does this uniformity of creed generate in the clergy a stronger sense of their religious obligations towards the people, than would arise from that emulation which the close vicinity of another priesthood generally causes? Or, does the universality of a church conduce to the moral elevation of a nation in whose country it exists? Let us examine.

It is an undoubted fact that the Swedish clergy are highly educated and intelligent, a most respectable and respected body, generally fulfilling with credit the ordinary routine of their duties. Charges of immorality are seldom brought against them, and complaints even of laxity of principle are not frequent; still, as a class, they are not deeply religious, so that while conscientiousness prompts them not to neglect the duties of their calling, they are uninspired with that loftier tone of feeling which would lead them to throw all their thoughts and all their energies into

the work of elevating the people to a high standard of morality and religion.

A certain amount of religious instruction is given to every child to prepare it for confirmation; while each person before taking the communion must undergo the preparation ordered by a formulary of the ecclesiastical law; and so strictly is this observance demanded, that its neglect has, within the last two years, caused the condemnation of many individuals to imprisonment on bread and water. No person belonging to the National Church of Sweden is permitted to contract marriage unless he has received the sacrament, nor can he obtain many employments, nor take oath as a witness, nor enjoy the privileges of a burgess, &c., until he has communicated.

Being thus forced to accept the ordinances of religion as preliminaries to certain temporal advantages, the people regard them as mere forms, and not as sacred obligations; their observance does not generally emanate from religious sentiment, it is attended by no deep solemnity of feeling, and followed by no advantageous results. Where the law enforces, the clergy think it unnecessary to persuade or exhort, and their functions, accordingly, dwindle into an unbroken routine, of which instilling sound principles into the minds of their congregations forms a part it is true; but the performance is so apathetic—so devoid of that invigorating influence derived from deep conviction and sincerity of purpose, or from that emulation produced by a rivality of churches—that it fails to produce any very beneficial effect."

Thus the singular anomaly exists, that while nearly every individual in Sweden receives the sacrament, the number of crimes committed, when compared with the

amount of population, exceeds that of any other country in Europe. The one circumstance may not be the direct cause of the other; still we are inclined to attribute the low tone of morals prevailing amongst the Swedish people in some measure to the system of forcing them to observe the most sacred ordinances of religion, whatever may be their state of feeling.

As the stipends of the Church are good, there are numerous candidates for the livings; but those who obtain them are by no means chosen for their piety or deep theological lore; and literary, scientific, or administrative talents are qualifications quite as likely to assist their possessor to a bishopric as any amount of biblical learning.

The ordinary costume of the Swedish pastor consists of a long black coat with straight cut collar, buttoned to the chin, and white cravat with bands; but when performing service he wears rich vestments and ornaments, that would be considered by many in England as far better suited to the Roman Catholic priest than to a minister of the Lutheran form of worship.

But if he clothes himself in garments which are derived from a Church long since abandoned by the people, his sympathies with that Church extend not beyond his sacerdotal robes, for he not only adheres rigidly to the doctrines of Lutheranism, but wages war to the knife against converts from it to other creeds.

The Swedish is essentially a persecuting Church, and is supported as such by the civil laws; for although a free exercise of all other religious worships is permitted in the country, every proselyte to them from the national creed

is pursued with a relentlessness worthy only of the dark days of the Inquisition. Scandinavian Protestantism is indeed as intolerant in this respect as Mahomedanism; but, what is very singular, the latter religion is not mentioned in the old enactments on the subject, so that a Swede might turn Moslem with impunity, while by adopting the tenets of any class of nonconformists, or going over to the Roman Catholic faith, he is subjected to heavy penalties, by fine, the confiscation of his property, and imprisonment.

A law of 1726 forbids any assemblages in private for religious worship under pain of fine. If these take place on Sunday, the individuals composing them are taxed with violation of the Sabbath, and those convicted a third time of having held such meetings are condemned to two years' exile. Neither are these laws obsolete, for within the last two years they have been carried out with great rigour, both against dissenters and Roman Catholics, in a spirit, too, that is disgraceful in this nineteenth century.

Nor does it appear probable that enactments so little in accordance with the civilization of the age will soon be abrogated, for as none but members of the National Church are permitted to sit in the Diet, as the feeling of the peasants is in unison with these intolerant sentiments, and as the clergy are the most independent and influential body of the four estates, no proposition for amending such statutes would stand the slightest chance of success.

Thus, while Sweden is making rapid progress in her mercantile and industrial affairs, by taking enlarged and liberal views, while she accepts the great ideas developed

by modern intellectual expansion, she threatens to remain on a par with semi-barbarous nations, and centuries behind the civilized world, in regard to religious tolerance. It is said that neither the King nor the Swedish Government have the slightest sympathy with these blind prejudices, and that the latter exercise all constitutional power to produce moderation of public opinion, in which they are supported by writers in a few journals, who are sufficiently enlightened to comprehend that such acts are alike unworthy of the national character and the spirit of the age. The peasants are the most strenuous opponents to the extension of religious liberty; they will listen to no propositions, they will accept no reasons, they will countenance no suggestions, that are not in strict accordance with, or directly sanctioned by, their books of lithurgy.

A sect calling themselves the Free Evangelical Lutheran Church has, within the last five or six years, gained numerous followers, particularly in Norrland, Dalecarlia, and the parishes of Orsa and Elfdahl. The National Church is making strenuous efforts to arrest the progress of this schism, many persons having been seized and condemned to heavy fines, imprisonment, and public penance. Such proceedings can only be followed by one result—an aggravation of the movement they are intended to check; while the contest, having arrived at such a pitch, most assuredly contains the seeds of future anxiety and trouble for Sweden.

It is not surprising that in this state of national feeling the Jews have come in for their share of ignominious treatment. They appear to have been subjected to no

particular restrictions up to the middle of the seventeenth century, for Swedish history furnishes instances of members of that persuasion having been then employed on important missions. About 1689, however, the arrival of a certain number of Israelites at Stockholm aroused the jealousy and fears of the consistory, which forthwith gave vent to their sentiments in such strong and decided language, that the Government was forced to adopt restrictive measures against the Jews. These measures were renewed and altered, but not favourably modified, by succeeding enactments, and the Jews' condition varied but little until 1838, when, by ordonnance royal, they were granted many privileges that had before been denied them; amongst these was permission to reside in all the towns of Sweden: but such opposition did this ordonnance create, that the latter boon was withdrawn in three months, and the clergy and peasants, in 1848, made the most determined, though unsuccessful, efforts to induce the Diet, and force the Government, to return to the oppressive statute of 1782.

The question of lessening the civil disabilities of the Jews was again brought forward in the last Diet, and a right of residence in any towns they pleased, with the power of possessing real property, was demanded for them; but these privileges, although not absolutely rejected by the committee, were limited to towns having at least four thousand inhabitants. Beside the purely religious reasons advanced in support of this resolution, it was contended that the great wealth of the Israelites would soon give them an undue and dangerous influence in towns having but few other capitalists.

In France, Belgium, and even Norway, the Jews enjoy all the rights of citizens. In England, Denmark, and many of the German States, they have also civil rights, which they exercise with a discretion and an intelligence that are quite on a par with their fellow-citizens. Why Sweden alone should be injured by their emancipation, is a question that their acutest enemy would find it difficult to answer; in the meantime it is singular to observe such purely visionary ideas influencing the decision on a matter of such importance.

Amongst the functions of the Swedish clergy is an unlimited control over the national education, which is under the immediate direction of each diocesan consistory, a body composed of the principal clergy, presided over by the Bishop, and invested with considerable powers. It appoints all schoolmasters, disposes of many clerical offices, and presents pastors to nearly all the livings not in the royal gift. It also unites judiciary with administrative powers, delivering judgment in all causes relating to the spiritual concerns of the Church or education, adjudicating in cases where the clergy are guilty of any dereliction in their ecclesiastical duties, and deciding in complaints against the parochial assemblies. With this wide range to their functions, it may easily be conceived that complications arise in certain causes which force the consistories to encroach on temporal jurisdiction; and such is really often the case.

From this slight sketch, it will be seen that these bodies exercise great influence, and hold an important position, in the State. They are said to fulfil their duties with rare conscientiousness, and to reconcile the opposing principles which exist in their office with singular tact. Their

views on education are liberal; they have no desire to keep the lower orders in ignorance, but aim at giving such instruction as will make them good citizens, while the error of extending their learning to a point beyond that which is necessary to their station is carefully avoided.

Primary education in Sweden is, however, neither so universal nor so well organised as in Denmark. This arises in a great measure from the difficulty of establishing a system of schools to embrace the whole population, especially in the northern districts, which are very thinly inhabited. Until lately the peasants undertook to give their children such elementary instruction as they were capable of doing; but this was necessarily irregular, generally difficult, and always defective.

The present King, when Prince Royal, devoted his attention to this subject, and attempted to establish at least one school in every district; but the obstacles were great, and in many instances insurmountable. The peasants would not assist in supporting the masters and school-houses where the latter were at so great a distance as to prevent the children from participating in their advantages. To remedy this state of things it became necessary to reconcile the fixed schools—stationed at wide intervals from each other—with the system of strolling masters, although the latter could not be brought under proper control.

Thus it seems probable that the physical condition of the country will for a long time oppose a barrier to the diffusion of systematic education in many parts of Sweden; beside which there are difficulties arising from diversity of

opinion as to the nature and extent of instruction to be given in these primary establishments, some contending that they should be a kind of industrial school for the labouring classes, where practical knowledge alone should be imparted, the parents being supposed to have previously taught their children reading and writing, and the clergy to have given religious instruction. A second party propose that these schools should not be limited alone to the lower orders, but that they should extend elementary education to all classes of society. The clergy are opposed to both these propositions, as they detect in each a principle that would finally operate in removing secular education from their immediate control. They, therefore, advocate a continuance of the present system, which gives to poor children, whose parents have not time to devote to the purpose, a simple knowledge in reading and writing as a foundation for that religious instruction necessary to prepare them for confirmation. There is also a fourth, though small, party, who would arrest the progress of education in the labouring classes because they find in it the source of democratic ideas.

All the large towns of Sweden have Latin, or learned, schools, which are submitted to the direction and inspection of the bishops. By a royal ordinance of 1849, an attempt was made to engraft upon the education given in these, the more practical instruction claimed by the interests of modern society; but this has not everywhere succeeded, because the rules laid down were wanting in precision, and also because the Bishops and professors raised such violent opposition to the innovation.

There are in Stockholm four kinds of Sunday schools,

of which the principal are the burgesses' schools, destined to give an education suited to the requirements of that numerous class called in Sweden *Borgerskapet;* and the trades' schools, affording similar instruction, but not on quite so advanced a scale.

A great variety of other educational establishments also exist, both private and public, including gymnasia, military colleges, and the universities, which we shall notice hereafter, so that altogether education is pretty general in Sweden.

The Burgesses rank as the third Order in the Diet, and represent about seventy thousand persons of both sexes, possessing real property to the amount of thirty-five millions of dollars banco, or 2,916,666*l.* They are composed of manufacturers, merchants, proprietors of mines, municipal magistrates, and forge masters, and take the name of *Borgarestandet,* a body quite distinct from the *Borgerskapet,* which includes only the industrial classes established in the towns, who are eligible for municipal functions alone. In Stockholm the latter body furnishes a militia force of three thousand effective cavalry and infantry.

To be eligible for election to the Diet, the candidate must belong to the Order of Burgesses, be twenty-five years of age, free in person and acts, profess the Lutheran faith, and enjoy a certain amount of public consideration; in addition to which the candidate must have been during three years a burgess of, or have performed municipal duties in, the town where he presents himself for election. The electors must be members of the same Order, twenty-one years of age, and belong to a Christian church; the

other qualifications, as to character, &c., being much the same as those demanded of the elected.

The fourth legislative Order represents about two millions two hundred and fifty thousand persons, so that the Order of Peasants is far more important in numbers than all the others together. They possess landed property to the value of 180 millions of dollars banco, or fifteen millions sterling. The denomination of peasants, however, conveys no just idea of their social position, for they consist entirely of landowners descended from this particular class, no others having any right of representation in their branch of the Diet. The candidates and electors are subject to the same conditions as those of the burgesses, varying only in points relating to the nature of their occupations.

These peasants are well educated, intelligent, prudent, and industrious. They are gradually absorbing, by their wealth, much of that land which is passing from the possession of the nobles. Upon political and social subjects they generally take clear and liberal views; but on religious questions they are most intolerant. The classes, numbers, and wealth represented in the Diet of Sweden, will be seen at a glance in the following summary: —

Members of Diet.	Number.	Value of Real Property. £
Nobles generally 400 (but 2,400 can sit by right) -	11,000 -	5,916,666
Clergy " 72 by office and election - -	15,000 -	83,333
Burgesses " 102 by election - - - -	70,000 -	2,916,666
Peasants " 150 ditto - - - - -	2,250,000 -	15,000,000

Here it is shown that the nobles represent by far the greatest amount of real property in proportion to their numbers; the burgesses standing next, then the peasants,

and lastly the clergy. But while the above figures show nearly all the property of the nobles and peasants, they indicate only a moderate portion of that possessed by the burgesses, whose wealth is principally personal.

The population of Sweden amounts to nearly three millions five hundred thousand, and as the numbers belonging to the four orders reach about two millions three hundred and fifty thousand only, there still remain upwards of eleven hundred thousand persons without any representation whatever, in the national legislature. These partly consist of the labouring population, but they include also a very numerous body, possessing considerable landed and personal property, who are perhaps the most intelligent and independent class in the kingdom. Amongst them are members of the learned professions, large landed proprietors, high officials, artists, literary and scientific men, and many individuals who have amassed fortunes by their talents and industry.

Such an exclusion is as unjust as it is impolitic; but although the injustice is recognised, although the King has exercised his influence to remedy it, and although the cause has been advocated by the ablest journalists, every effort to obtain so necessary a reform has hitherto failed through the opposition of the Diet, which alone has power to make the change. As a whole, this parliamentary body could scarcely object to the introduction of such valuable elements into the national councils; but the difficulty lies in the jealousy or selfishness of each branch, which stickles for its exclusive prerogatives, and upon those grounds refuse to admit even individuals who would throw the lustre of genius over their common-place assemblies.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE UNIVERSITIES. — MILITARY EDUCATION. — BEAUTY AND FRAILTY. — A GREAT FEUDAL CHIEF.—CASTLE OF GRIPSHOLM. — ERIC XIV. AND JOHN — GUSTAVUS IV.—PALACE OF ROSENDAL.—THE BRIDAL WREATH.

HAVING given a sketch of the machinery by which general education is conducted in Sweden, we shall now take a glance at those institutions that preside over the higher branches of learning. There are two universities —one at Upsal, the other at Lund—which, like all the inferior educational establishments, are under the immediate control and superintendence of their respective clerical consistories, and are almost identical in their organization and the character of education they bestow, so that one may be regarded as the type of both.

The University of Upsal is composed of four faculties; that of theology having four professors, jurisprudence four, medicine five, and philosophy fourteen — in all, twenty-seven, independent of numerous adjuncts and docents, professors of modern languages, riding, fencing, dancing and music-masters, and curators of museums.

Its fixed annual revenues, amounting to about a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, or twelve thousand five hundred pounds sterling, are derived from certain estates with which the university is endowed, from crown tithes,

and from donations and legacies bestowed or bequeathed at various epochs. The occasional income from students' fees is small, as the courses of public lectures are all free.

The professors' salaries appear very insignificant when compared with those of our university dons, as the highest scarcely reaches 300*l.* a year; but this meagre allowance does not prevent men of exalted learning occupying the chairs. From his limited wants and frugal habits, combined with the general cheapness of provisions, the Swedish professor is indeed said to live upon his limited means in comfort, if not in luxury.

The name of Linnæus will ever confer honour on the University of Upsala; and Geyer, too, as a historian of remarkable talent, takes rank amongst many other professors who have raised this seat of learning to such high celebrity. There are generally about fourteen hundred students on the books, and from eight to nine hundred in attendance at Upsala, and at Lund about half that number. Each is obliged to undergo a preliminary examination by the adjuncts, in order to obtain admittance to the university; should he be rejected, a consistorial rebuke is given to the master or teacher of the gymnasium in which he received his education, for sending him up thus unqualified.

The students are from all classes of society, and are divided into fourteen *nations*, each having its own particular statutes; being governed by a professor under the name of inspector, and possessing a common hall, lecture-room, and library. The members of each *nation* usually consist of those who have followed their course of studies in the same diocese; but nobles and foreigners are allowed

to enter any nation they please. The sons of the clergy generally outnumber those of all other classes, and the theological students those for other professions.

Every person is compelled to take his degree before entering the church, or practising either the law or medicine; while candidates for many government offices are required to take degrees in philosophy, and afterwards to study the particular sciences necessary to a proper fulfilment of their official duties. The examinations are all of a high standard, and are well adapted to test the qualifications of the individuals submitted to them. Thus most of the Swedish functionaries will, for solid learning and practical information, bear a favourable comparison with those of any other nation; and although the contrary opinion has been given, we assert with confidence that the nobles holding public offices are generally as much distinguished for their sound acquirements as they are for their brilliant accomplishments.

Many of the Swedish military officers also study at the universities, and obtain their commissions only after severe examinations in the principal branches of science and letters. There are, however, special schools for those who are destined to the scientific departments of the army, one of these, called the "Military Academy," is situate at Carlberg, the other is the "School of Artillery and Engineers," at Marieberg. The course of studies in the latter is particularly severe, and the examinations passed to qualify for the higher branches of the service embrace a wide range of practical and theoretical knowledge.

There is also an institution at Stockholm of a different and higher character, but connected with the same sub-

ject. It is the "Military Academy of Sciences," having for members all the general and many other superior officers, and most of the high dignitaries of the State, who hold periodical meetings to discuss the military art in relation to their own country, and to follow its progress abroad, on which they render an annual report.

The Swedish students have not so jolly a time as the undergraduates of Oxford; they fatten not on brawn such as at Queen's is found, nor feed they upon sausages like unto those for which other colleges are famed; they meet not in sumptuous halls to feast upon the dainty products of a *cuisine* that would not disgrace a Soyer's name; nor do they assemble in snug college rooms to imbibe deep draughts of freshman's wine, and dive *ad libitum* into his capacious box of real Havannahs. Yet have they their humbler dissipations. They smoke together an unlimited quantity of bad tobacco, and dream, amidst its fumes, of dry philosophy; they drink together no end of *finkel*, and under its alcoholic influence discuss theology; but, smoke they or drink they, Swedish students seldom forget the main point. College debts hang not over them, as incubi, for life; parents are rarely disappointed, for their sons generally pass through their collegiate days unscathed, and through their examinations unplucked.

But away with schools and universities; away with grave professors and smoky students—with science and philosophy away, for we are tired of them; beside which, having made an engagement, we are off, and old Gripsholm's royal castle is our destination.

The funnel vomits forth a stream of black fumidity; the steam-pipe, with painful hissing, spurts out white

frothy vapour; the farewell gun is fired; the paddles flap the glassy element; an always-lengthening, never-ending foamy tail hangs in our wake, for we are again spinning over the Malar.

Many and motley are our fellow passengers; but most, like ourselves, are bound on a trip of pleasure. Look at yon group of Scandinavian maidens, with neatly braided hair, and kerchiefs tied across their heads. Look at that one amongst them! What arched eyebrows; what soft blue eyes, made softer by the mellowing shade of silken lashes; what expressive angles to the mouth, made more expressive by that dimpling of the chin; what rosy lips, made rosier still by palest tint upon those cheeks; what winning modesty is there, which seems now of bashfulness to be the offspring—now the child of sadness.

Ah, fairest girl! Is it, can it be, that thou, too, art classed in frailty with so many of thy townswomen, often like thyself—so lovely? We will not think it; we will indulge the pleasing dream that thou and many others of thy class still cling to virtuous sentiments, even amidst the great temptations that surround ye, — still possess unsullied honour, even amidst the general wreck of character that pervades your sex and order. Yet we tremble for ye, on remembering that the same affirmative answer has invariably been given by your own countrymen to the question we have asked and asked again, "Whether all be true that has been said of the Stockholm damsels' immorality?" and we shudder when we think of those uncompromising *data* called statistics, which proclaim ye nearly all unvirtuous. If these are facts— and, alas! we must accept the evidence—never did appearance so belie

reality — never did purer looks conceal such shocking frailties — never did chaster mask cover such unchastity.

The young Swedish women of the lower orders display no external evidences of depraved feeling; they have generally a peculiarly modest bearing and expression of countenance, while those signs of abandonment so often seen in other capitals are never observed in Stockholm, nor is there in this city a single haunt where female wantonness finds a fixed rendezvous. The *pigas* * of Stockholm and Gottenburg possess also a refinement of manners rarely met with in their grade: go into what shop you will, and a girl serves you with an elegance that would grace a *salon;* go into a *restaurant,* and your food is brought by a maiden with the dignity of a duchess. Oh, that a stream so clear upon the surface should but glide over so much pollution!

We shall not here attempt to explain the causes of this low tone of female morals in the metropolis of Sweden, for the investigation or discussion of such a subject. does not fall within our province; and if it did, the field has already been gone over so ably by Mr. Laing that we should hesitate to break fresh ground upon the question; independently of which, we have just arrived at Gripsholm, having accomplished the distance of forty-two English miles in three hours and a half.

Bo Jönsson Grip, a great feudal lord, raised himself to such power in the latter half of the fourteenth century, that he exercised an authority equal to the King's. In-

* A name given to waiting and servant girls.

deed he possessed, either by inheritance or mortgage, a considerable portion of the country; for, independent of vast patrimonial estates, he held all Finland and a great part of Sweden, with the principal strongholds of the kingdom, as security for immense sums advanced to his sovereign, Albert, to carry on his wars.

Embarrassed by this load of debt, the Monarch, on the death of Jönsson Grip, demanded from his heirs restitution of the crown property, but at the same time refused to discharge the liens upon it. This unjust request caused a civil war, which terminated in the defeat, capture, and deposition of the King, and proved the immediate cause of the celebrated union of Kalmar; for Jönsson Grip's administrators placed the crown of Sweden on the brow of Margaret, already Queen of Denmark and Norway.

That so powerful a chief as Grip should have erected a home worthy of his position is not surprising; and the massive structure now before us might well be taken as a representative of the man, and of the times in which he lived. With foundations on the solid rock, with walls of immense thickness, and with architecture that sacrificed the ornamental to the heavy and enduring, Gripsholm still looks so sturdy and so strong, that one can scarcely imagine the raging elements of a northern clime to have swept over it for half a thousand years. A fortress without, a palace and a prison within, this structure contains all the architectural characteristics of the period at which it was built.

The jealousy of those in possession of great power; the constant and deadly contentions between the nobles; and the general turbulence of the times, rendered it necessary

that each feudal lord should not only guard his person against surprise, but be in a position, if necessary, to defend himself, his family, and his home, against more systematic attacks; and no kind of buildings were better adapted for such purposes than those castle residences.

As an example of the savage manners of the age, we may adduce the fact of Jönsson Grip himself, in 1381, having, in a private quarrel with Charles Nilsson, another Swedish noble, followed him into the Franciscan church at Stockholm, and there killed him at the foot of the altar.

Gripsholm Castle is now, and has been since the days of Gustavus Vasa, a royal palace. It is built of brick, is flanked by four imposing towers, encloses a quadrangular court, and is said to contain upwards of three hundred rooms, large and small. It is beautifully situated on the very borders of the Malar, and commands from its turrets a magnificent view over that lake on the one side, and a fertile country on the other.

Although the day was bright and warm, we found the large court sombre, even gloomy and cold. Here are seen two large brass cannons, taken from the Russians, in 1581, by the Swedish army under the gallant Pontus de la Gardie, a Frenchman by birth in the service of King John. This was about the period when Russia began to display that aggressive tendency which has since formed the foundation of her political system.

Just now it is curious to remark the description given of the Russian soldiers of that day by Egidius Girs, a contemporaneous Swedish chronicler, who, after speaking of the obstinacy with which they defended Wesenberg,

says, "Their valour in defending fortified places arises from their being habituated to rough work, and accustomed to support hunger, even from infancy, while few things only are necessary to their subsistence, such as flour, salt, and water."

This account of the small quantity and indifferent quality of food on which the Russians were able to subsist in the sixteenth century, accords with our experience of the present day. We particularly noticed this power of endurance while subsisting on scanty fare, in our Volga boatmen*, who, until we reached the melon districts, worked hard day and night, while living literally on black bread, salt, and water, under which diet their physical endurance appeared never to relax. Black bread and a little salt have been found frequently upon the persons of Russian soldiers during the present war in the Crimea, which circumstance has been considered by some persons as indicating short provisions in the Russian army; but we believe that in time of peace the Muscovite soldiers, like many of the peasants, have often no better fare, and that they, therefore, regard it neither with dissatisfaction nor repugnance.

The rooms and galleries of Gripsholm are hung with portraits, embracing nearly every personage celebrated in Swedish history, beside numerous Monarchs and illustrious individuals of other countries. One large room contains the contemporary sovereigns of Gustavus Vasa, and another those of Gustavus III., this castle having been a favourite residence of those Kings; the former, doubtless, finding it a safe abode during the troubles that succeeded

* See "The Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Crimea," by the Author.

his accession to the throne, and the latter making it an object whereon to lavish that elegance and luxury for which he had acquired a taste at Versailles, many brilliant vestiges still remaining in decorations and furniture well illustrating his Epicurean feelings.

Ascending to the stage above this great suite of apartments, we entered a low, gloomy, though rather large chamber with bare walls, for some time the prison of John III., when duke of Finland, who, having excited the fears or suspicion of his brother, Eric XIV., was seized and confined in this apartment, — an act for which he afterwards took a terrible revenge.

Again we mounted, and at the highest story of a tower found a dismal cell, nearly surrounded on the outside by a narrow passage. In this horrid den did John keep Eric shut up for years. The very spot is pointed out where the wretched captive was for a time enchained; and the guide tells how the sill (now removed) of the little hole which gives some scanty light, was worn by the friction of the caged sovereign's arms, who daily, and for hours together, would lean upon it while gazing intently through the iron bars, across the beautiful Malar, towards that fair capital once, with the kingdom, all his own. Well did Eric say before the senate, when accused by his usurping brother John of being insane, "Truly my reason did once abandon me, and that was when I gave thee liberty."

This cell was secured by two iron doors, having the encircling passage between them, where the guards were placed, and, to make assurance doubly sure, were themselves locked up.

The reign of Eric and his fate are bloody pages in Swedish history, for he was subject to accessions of madness, during the fury of which he perpetrated the most sanguinary acts. In one of these savage moods he rushed into the cell where he had confined Nils Sture, a young Swedish noble, stabbed him with a poignard, and left a myrmidon to consummate the horrid murder. Thence, with the reeking dagger in his hand, Eric flew to another dungeon, there fell on his knees before Nils' father, whom he had also shut up, and demanded pardon, in the name of God, for all the injury he had done him. "All," replied Svante Sture; "but if my son run, or have run, any danger, you will answer for it before your God." "I see," cried Eric, "that you will never forgive me, therefore you shall suffer the same fate." Then rushing furiously away, he gave the fatal order, and Svante Sture, together with his second son, and several other nobles suspected by Eric, were murdered in cold blood.

These, and like acts, were sufficient to render this king odious in the eyes of his subjects, and to favour John's intrigues to wear the crown; but nothing can extenuate the monstrous cruelty of the latter when Eric was completely in his power. Every species of inhumanity was resorted to that could increase the royal captive's suffering: he had to endure cold and hunger; breathe a contaminated atmosphere; and even submit to blows from a stick, or cuts from a sword. On one occasion his arm was fractured by a pistol shot, and he left weltering in his blood.

At length, in 1577, after nine years of imprisonment, came the order to poison him with opium or arsenic,

written by the hand of John, and concluding in these words: "If he will not take the drink, he must be placed by force upon a chair, the veins of his arms and legs opened, and the blood allowed to run until death by fainting ensue; and should his resistance interfere with this, he must be strangled or suffocated." Eric made no opposition, however, to the poison; shortly after taking which he died, probably hailing the grave as a happy release from his sufferings.

It was at Gripsholm, perhaps in this very cell, that, in 1574, this wretched man had the last interview with Catherine his wife, and children; — that wife whom he had taken from a hovel to be his mistress, and afterwards elevated to a throne — that wife for whom, in the height of his power and through the depth of his misery, he alike entertained the most romantic passion, and whose influence was such, that in the very fury of his madness she could calm him to the gentleness of an infant. So great, indeed, was Eric's affection for Catherine, that the people, not being able to explain it otherwise, declared she had bewitched him. During his imprisonment he wrote her the tenderest and most touching epistles, although they often elicited only reproaches and abuse in reply.

The imprisonment, at Gripsholm, of Gustavus IV. by his subjects, in 1808, before his final banishment from Sweden, is the last event of interest connected with the old castle. The room in which he was confined is more lively than the other prison chambers. Rash and capricious as we know this monarch to have been in some things, we still admire the remarkable consistency he displayed, in adhering, through every change of circumstances, to the

line of policy he adopted in the European struggle of his day.

He was early the opponent of Bonaparte, and remained an uncompromising enemy of that great man to the last. In spite of humouring, threatening, or soliciting,—in spite of the most advantageous offers openly made, and of bribes secretly proposed,—he remained faithful to the cause he had adopted, preferring to lose a crown rather than sacrifice his honour; and, with a boldness worthy of better success, he at one time even entered the lists against the combined arms of France, Russia, Denmark, and Prussia, to maintain and defend his principles.

Had he taken a totally opposite course, as Frederic of Denmark did,—had he espoused the cause of Napoleon with as much ardour and firmness as he displayed in opposing it,—Gustavus would have been equally ruined. The same impoverishment and the same disasters must have fallen on his kingdom; the same discontent would have arisen, and the same revolution have followed. Sweden was not strong enough alone to support *consistency* where greater countries were inconsistent; she was not powerful enough alone to uphold her sovereign's honour, when so many *soi-disant* greater monarchs were dishonourable.

Had Gustavus been what the world calls *politic*—had he shifted from side to side, in violation of solemn engagements, plighted honour, and of every principle that should be held sacred—as Russia, Austria, and Prussia did, to suit their purposes—he might have retained a throne; and history perhaps would have proclaimed him wise in his generation. But he fell,—as, in such a situation, any wiser man, who had marked out a certain course and

honourably adhered to it, would have fallen, — and history therefore writes him down a fool.

The only really consistent Kings, though in opposite directions, engaged in that mighty contest — excepting the English sovereign — were Gustavus of Sweden and Frederic of Denmark. The former was sent an outcast and a wanderer on the face of Europe, while the latter lost four-fifths of his dominions. And what did England gain? A debt of five hundred millions as a memorial of her consistency!

On going to and returning from Gripsholm we passed the celebrated islet called *Kungshatten,* on a conspicuous part of which is seen an iron casque suspended to a stunted pine, where tradition says it has hung for ages, having belonged to a Swedish king who was here entrapped by a body of pirates, but fought with them so valiantly, that he managed, in spite of their numbers, to escape by plunging into the lake, leaving only this iron hat as a trophy to his astonished opponents. Another legend recounts that the king made a flying leap on his horse from the summit of the rock into the Malar; in the act of doing which his casque was caught in a branch and left hanging to the tree.

There are several other royal palaces, large and small, in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, but we shall only mention that of Rosendal (the Vale of Roses), situated in the Deer Park, and having for site as lovely a spot as can well be imagined. The palace itself is small, but elegantly arranged internally. It was built by the late king, and his son Oscar has since had it tastefully fitted up as the summer residence of the Crown Prince. The royal family

are attached to and often visit Rosendal. The flower-gardens that surround the palace are kept in admirable order, while the wood in the vicinity is such, that the most fastidious Dryades would be satisfied to linger for ever amidst the noble trees; and Naiades too would be equally pleased with that charming fiord close by.

Here are orangeries, fine conservatories, and a great hothouse, with a large basin of water wherein the splendid *Victoria regia* spreads its huge leaves and displays its floating flowers. But we wander from our object; for we brought not our readers here to see the charms of nature, but to observe the beauties of art; and a triumphant specimen, indeed, of man's capacity for generating new ideas in the beautiful is that colossal porphyry vase before us. The proudest conception of classic brain in the transcendent days of ancient Greece never excelled, in just proportions and graceful outlines, this noble example of Scandinavian art. It is nine feet in height and twelve in diameter; and, being highly polished, a play of light is given which brings out its chaste lines and produces an airy grace seldom found in a work of such magnitude. It is from the royal manufactory of Elfdal in Dalecarlia, originally established by a company, but purchased of them by Charles XIV., and now forming part of the private property of the Crown.

The transporting of this vase to Stockholm resembled the triumphal course of a victorious general who had done his country good service. A band of music preceded; the principal authorities of the district accompanied; and a long train of workmen followed it the whole distance of

two hundred and seventy miles. The people assembled in holiday costume at every convenient locality on the line of passage, and public rejoicings took place on its arrival in the capital. Thus was its course a prolonged ovation, not to mere matter, but to genius and to art; a demonstration that did as much honour to the Swedish people as it did to the designer of the glorious production.

The Elfdal porphyry manufactory is said not to be in a flourishing state; the tedious process of working and polishing so hard a substance rendering the works when finished so expensive, that purchasers cannot be found in a poor country like Sweden; thus the very men who give the last touch of beauty to such forms are often in a state of want.

M. le Duc mentions a curious method resorted to in the last reign by the director of the establishment to encourage the workpeople. He had the artificial flowers that were used at the King's table brought from Stockholm, and placed carefully under double-lock in a chest that was only opened on a marriage or funeral, to furnish the bride with her bouquet, or the dead with a garland; after which the flowers were returned to the box and sacredly guarded until the next joyous or sorrowful occasion called for their reproduction.

This was certainly an ingenious plan for making these poor persons contented with their hard lot, but it was based upon a knowledge of their character and the customs of the country. The Swedish peasant girl would scarcely consider her marriage correct unless her person were properly adorned and she wore the bridal wreath or

crown. The latter kind of *coiffure* is characteristic, and elegant in shape; though often of mere tinsel, it is sometimes made of gold, and is handed down from one generation to another. In many provinces not only is the bride decorated, but the whole nuptial party are decked out with gaudy trinkets and scraps of ribbon.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE SUMMER CAMP. — THE SWEDISH SOLDIER. — THE ARMY. — POLITICAL PARTIES. — PROPOSED SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOM. — THE DUTY OF EUROPE TOWARDS THE NORTH. — THE SWEDISH NAVY. — FAMILY INFLUENCES. — DANCES AND DRUNKENNESS. — ARDENT SPIRITS.

A CAMP is annually formed at Stockholm for the performance of military manœuvres. The year of our visit it consisted of twelve thousand five hundred men, under the immediate command of Prince Charles, heir to the Swedish throne. The first day we visited the camp a grand review took place, at which the King, Queen, and Royal Family, with their guests, were present.

The reviewing ground is one of the finest in Europe, being surrounded with trees, and possessing many commanding sites whence the movement of troops can be seen to advantage. We were particularly struck with the appearance, equipment, and martial bearing of the soldiers on this occasion. The *élite* of the Swedish standing army were there, it is true; but the same military bearing existed in the *Indelta*, though not to so marked a degree as in the guards,—a set of as fine fellows as ever wore a helmet or buckled on a sword.

The Crown Prince, as general-in-chief, follows camp life with the army during their six weeks' drill; he pitches his tent upon a rising ground commanding the field, and

makes it for that time his head-quarters and his home. This is not only an act of choice, but one of policy, for Swedish soldiers distrust the commander who does not identify himself completely with their hardships. They cherish the traditions of the past, and would despise the general who was disinclined to share their fatigues and duties, whether in the peaceful camp or upon the battle-field; they recall with pride what Gustavus Adolphus, Charles Gustavus, and Charles XII., their idols and their models, did; how these great captains endured every species of privation and suffering with their men, and how they led them on to glory.

Truly the Swedish soldier can look back upon a long catalogue of brilliant achievements, and boast that the world's annals display no greater acts of heroism, no more dazzling victories than those accomplished by his predecessors; and should the time again arrive for the Swedish army to take the field, we are convinced that, if properly led,—and it *must be led*,—it will maintain all its ancient renown and gather fresh laurels to place upon the nation's brow.

At the present moment, when the eyes of Europe are turned towards Sweden, and the political needle points to her union with the Western Powers, a few words on her military resources will be interesting. The Swedish army on a war footing was estimated in 1854 at 94,980 men; of which 85,000 were infantry, divided into forty-six service, twenty-seven reserve, and twelve dépôt battalions. The cavalry was composed of forty service squadrons, and ten squadrons of reserve; in all 5,674 men. The artillery, of twenty service and five reserve batteries; 4,416 men.

To which may be added 8000 national militia of Gothland, and 13,000 other militia; making an effective force of 116,000 men.

The above army is raised in three different ways. The *Värfvade*, numbering about 8000, entered by voluntary enlistment, are, in the strict sense of the word, regular soldiers. They include 2,200 foot-guards; the squadrons of horse-guards and Crown Prince's hussars mustering about a thousand sabres; the remainder being artillery. The *Indelta* is about 27,000 men strong, and consists of twenty-nine regiments, principally infantry, with a proportionate number of cavalry and artillery. The *Värfvade* and *Indelta* together, therefore, count about 35,000 troops, which include all the cavalry and artillery of the country and constitute the permanent army. The *Värfvade* are always on duty and full pay, but the *Indelta* are called out for six weeks each summer, during which time only they receive pay.

The Indelta system is peculiar to Sweden. It replaced the ancient military conscription, and was introduced to correct the abuses and avoid the cruelties inflicted upon the people by that method of recruiting the army. The infantry are supported by the landed proprietors, who supply their undress uniform, pay their expenses at the yearly manœuvres, keep their arms and accoutrements in order, beside providing them with land and houses under certain conditions. The State furnishes the arms and dress uniforms.

The whole landed property of the country not being charged with these obligations, the burthen falls very heavily on that portion which is liable to them. The

demesnes of the nobles are exempt from this onerous charge; an exemption that may be regarded as one of the most valuable privileges remaining to the aristocracy.

The cavalry of the Indelta are equally supported by the land; but in this case the obligation rests only on the holders of estates tributary to the Crown, and certain freeholds which were left in the hands of their proprietors on this condition by Charles XI. Each division, called a *rustning*, keeps a cavalry soldier fully armed and equipped, for which the State allows a drawback on the claims it possesses over the revenues of its demesne.

The principal expense entailed on the State by the Indelta is that of supporting the officers; but this is done at a comparatively small direct outlay, as certain properties called *boställer*, which were specially applied to the purpose by Charles XI., are conceded to them for cultivation. These *boställer* amount to 1770 in number, and vary in size and value according to the grade of the officers holding them; the *boställer* of a general being worth from four to five thousand dollars banco, or 333*l.* to 400*l.* a year; that of a colonel from two to three thousand dollars, or 166*l.* to 250*l.* per annum; and so on, in proportion to the grade.

The *Beväring* is the third institution for furnishing soldiers to the Swedish army; it is based on the principle of the conscription, and consists entirely of infantry. All male subjects between twenty and twenty-five years of age are bound to serve in it or procure substitutes; who must, however, belong to the same province as the conscripts whose places they take. The soldiers of the Beväring are divided, according to age, into five classes, which

successively assemble once a year for drill and exercise. They are, properly speaking, only a corps of defence, as the term Beväring signifies, and were founded upon the old *Landtvärn*, which, in the time of Gustavus IV., sustained so many disasters and defeats as to have rendered the very name detestable to the Swedish people.

The effective strength of the Swedish army, as above given, could, on an emergency, be considerably increased, especially in that division raised by voluntary enlistment; and it is computed that the Beväring alone, when carried to its full limits, would produce 120,000 men; while the addition of 14,324 Norwegian troops and 9,160 militia raises the whole to a most imposing force. Still it is evident that the military system of Sweden is more adapted for defensive than for offensive operations; while the very organisation of the Indelta and Bevärang appears designed to be a check on the King's prerogative of declaring an offensive war, unless such a declaration be entirely in accordance with popular feeling.

The constitution of the country invests the King with the right to declare and make war; but, by a singular contradiction, he is deprived of control over the necessary funds for doing so. By the fundamental law of the kingdom certain sums, called *Lilla Kreditivet*, or small credit, usually amounting to half a million dollars banco, or 41,666*l.*, and *Stora Kreditivet*, or large credit, of two million dollars, or 166,666*l.*, are voted by the Diet for annual extraordinary expenditure. The King and his council can dispose of the former on defensive works for the country or in unforeseen expenses, but the Diet exer-

cises the right of investigating the accounts and holding the council responsible for any misappropriation of the funds. The larger credit, however, can only be employed in case of imminent danger of the country being involved in war, and then only after the King, by the consent of his council, has called the States together and obtained their approbation.

Thus it appears that, although possessing a *nominal*, the King of Sweden has no *real*, power *alone* to enter upon an offensive war; we therefore believe that any engagement he may make for joining the Western Powers in the present European struggle will be on condition of a ratification by the Diet. That he would obtain such a ratification is very probable, for the feeling of the Swedish people is strongly anti-Russian, while all their material interests are bound up with England.

There are, however, a certain party, made up of heterogeneous elements, who have raised the banner of neutrality. They consist of the few who sincerely believe there is greater safety in absolutism than in liberty — of the timid, who foresee danger to Sweden in going to war, whichever side she take — of the interested, who calculate their gains in carrying on a trade with both the belligerent parties — and of a small phalanx, friends of Russia, who dare not proclaim their real sentiments in the face of popular opinion, so are compelled to fight under false colours.

The neutral party, whatever their various motives may be, adopt the same reasons in advocating their doctrines; they point to the flourishing state of agriculture — the

thriving condition of commerce—the augmented manufactures—and the increased revenues. They exalt the profits of neutrality, and proclaim the losses that the opposite condition would entail; but all their reasonings have little effect upon the great majority, who, strong in sympathies with civilization on one side, and deep in hatred for their hereditary enemy, *arf-fiende*, on the other, stop not to examine the particular amount of gain to be derived from adopting a middle course, and who, taking a clearer view than the minority, believe that the real interests of their country are bound up with her honour, and that a cordial co-operation with England and France would ultimately prove of far greater and more permanent benefit to her than the profits arising from a temporary increase to commercial activity. They see that if with her assistance a deadly blow could be struck in the Baltic at the naval power of Russia, her fleets annihilated, and her fortresses destroyed—Sweden would gain an immense accession of strength, and would once more hold her proper position in the councils of Europe.

To induce King Oscar to take this decided part, strong guarantees of future protection and assistance would probably be required, perhaps some promises of direct recompense. What, then, can the Allies offer to Sweden for a loyal union with their cause? The restoration of Finland is so naturally suggested, that Swedish parties discuss the form in which it should be accepted, even before they are in a position to claim the gift; some are for an annexation similar to that with Norway, giving to the Finns their own constitution and laws, so that their liberty might be insured; others desire the re-union with Sweden

pure and simple, as a just reparation and revenge for the disasters of 1809; while a third party think that the union in either form would be unwise in policy, and they propose that Finland should be made an independent state under a prince nominated by the Allies.

That Finland should be restored to Sweden there cannot be a doubt; but something more should be done — *the King of Sweden and his heirs should be made successors to the Danish Crown.* Three great objects would thus be accomplished. A prince who is the tool of Russia, and hateful to the Danish people, would be removed from the succession; the Scandinavian race would be united under one sovereign, and the aspirations of the great majority realised; and the King of Scandinavia would be strong enough to defend his dominions as well from the ambition of Russia as from the insidious attacks of Prussia.*

* The acceptance of the Austrian proposals for peace by Russia, which took place while this work was in the press, diminishes in no degree the importance of the above observations; for to annihilate the naval power of Russia in the Black Sea, and leave her unchecked, to concentrate all her energies on the development and augmentation of her Baltic navy, within those very strongholds which for two years have defied the united power of France and England, would be a blunder of the most outrageous description, unless a Scandinavian kingdom were created strong enough to defend herself and hold her powerful neighbour in check.

The conclusion of peace now, would be no *proof*, that the resources of Russia are exhausted, but a simple acknowledgment that she is incapable of successfully carrying on the war against the present alliance and the other threatened combinations. The termination of this conflict in a manner so fatal to her *prestige* will not crush her ambition—will leave her still sufficiently powerful to indulge with confidence in the hope of revenge, and to make preparation for taking it.

Her whole history encourages such a hope, and prompts to such a preparation; for her worst disasters have ever been succeeded by her greatest

The Danes could scarcely object to this arrangement, for they are ruled by a dynasty that may any day become extinct, when under present circumstances they would be linked with that absolutism which they so much abhor, while the union with Sweden would rejoin them also to their friends and brothers the Norwegians, and give them a race of Sovereigns who have shown that they appreciate the advantages of modern civilization, and recognise the necessity of keeping pace with the progress of the world. Nor would any great injustice be done to Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg-Glucksbourg, who was not the rightful heir to the throne of Denmark, but was nominated by Russia.

Finland, too, would rejoice; for all her sympathies are with Sweden, and she would be greater as a vital part of a Scandinavian kingdom than as the mere tentaculum of a huge zoophyte. Nor could Russia justly complain were Finland given back to Sweden, for such would only be the

triumphs. The defeats of Sviatoslav in 971-2 were followed by the victories of Vladimir. Russia, conquered by and subjected to the Tartars, yet rose against them, threw off the yoke, and permanently extended her own dominions at the expense of her enemies. The battle of Narva, in which nine thousand Swedes, under Charles XII., beat an army of fifty thousand Russians, and took thirty thousand prisoners, was avenged at Pultava; where the Swedes, still under the command of their heroic king, were completely routed by Peter the Great, who thus increased immensely the power of his empire. Russia appeared lost when the French army entered Moscow, but on the ashes of her capital she rose up stronger, prouder, and more influential than ever.

These are but a few instances of those which might be brought forward. Let Englishmen reflect upon them! England must look well to her future! Combinations may not always be as favourable to her as the present, nor will another opportunity such as this shortly arise for settling a question, which, if left open, most assuredly contains the germs of trouble for Great Britain.

restoration of property to the rightful owner. Norway also would be pleased again to enjoy that union with Denmark which forty years ago she so valiantly defended and shed her best blood to maintain.

Sweden, with Finland in possession, and Denmark in speedy reversion, might pay an annual sum to the latter as compensation for the abolition of the Sound dues. Thus would the Baltic trade be thrown open, a constant source of angry feeling stopped, complications with America be avoided, navigation and commerce be greatly extended, the political equilibrium of Europe ensured, Russia properly punished for her aggressions, great benefits conferred on the four united nations, an act of immense political and commercial advantage be accomplished, and, better than all, Europe might sheathe the sword and say that she had made a settlement in the North which violated the principles neither of honour nor justice.

Never did such an opportunity occur for doing good to the parties immediately concerned, while benefiting the world; and should the Western Powers not make some such arrangement with Sweden, they will fail in their mission. The offer would be great, but the price little, when the advantages to be obtained would, as we shall show, be the surest means of procuring a speedy termination to the war which is costing England and France such an enormous amount of precious treasure, but of more precious blood.

To this arrangement the sanction of Austria and Prussia, as parties to the settlement of the Danish succession, would be required. The former would probably not offer violent opposition to it, for she has no direct interests in the North,

and would receive her recompense in a limitation of Russian power, in a free navigation of the Danube, an extension of her trade towards the East, and in all the financial benefits that a speedy conclusion of the war would bring to her. Prussia would derive immediate and immense commercial advantage in the abolition of the Sound dues; but it cannot be concealed that from her would arise the greatest obstacles to the alteration of the Danish settlement, inasmuch as it would prove a certain barrier to her own designs.

Should Sweden ally herself with the Western Powers in offensive operations against Russia, Denmark has no choice left but to do the same, and entire success could not fail to crown their combined efforts. In this victorious position they might dictate as well to Prussia as to Russia; but a slight additional humiliation to the former, since by an undignified line of policy she has already brought so much disgrace upon herself.

The Swedish navy consists of ten ships of the line, eight frigates, eight corvettes and brigs, twelve steamers, six schooners, eight mortar vessels, twenty-two transports, and two hundred and sixty gun-boats, &c. The large ships are stationed at Carlscrona, a flotilla of gun-boats at Stockholm, and one at Gottenburg.

To provide all these vessels with full crews about twenty-two thousand men are required. The navy is manned on the same system as that by which the land forces are raised. The *Indelta bätşmän* number about eight thousand two hundred men; while the *Sjobeväring*, or conscription sailors, amount to about twelve thousand. The voluntary seamen, or *Värfvade bätsmän*, in the service, are generally few during peace; but in war, and especially

in a popular war, this force could be raised to a considerable number.

In an alliance with the Western Powers, at any rate, Sweden would have no difficulty whatever in providing seamen for her share in the operations, as her line-of-battle ships could be dispensed with, thus rendering five thousand men available for other service. The Norwegian navy, consisting of a hundred and fifty vessels of all classes, as shown below, could be manned with facility, and with the Danish fleet and flotilla would constitute an overwhelming force of that particular description required for the service of the Baltic.

	Ships of the Line.	Sailing and Steam Frigates, Corvettes and Brigs.	Gun-boats, Mortar-vessels, and Schooners.	Armed Transports and Towing Steamers.	Total.
Sweden	10	16	274	34	334
Norway	—	7	146	3	156
Denmark	5	15	94	6	120
	15	38	514	43	610

Add to these forces the mighty steam fleets of England and France, which, including gun-boats, will probably amount in the spring to four hundred pennants, and a combination is produced before which the power of Russia in the Baltic must inevitably fall. Supposing Norway and Sweden only to join the allies, the effect would be the same, for with such an armament the absence of Denmark would be of little consequence.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the Swedish and Norwegian sailors are as brave as they are intrepid; the blood of the Viking runs in their veins, the spirit of their forefathers still animates them; and, should the

time come for action, they will not belie their Teutonic origin.

The sum voted by the Diet for the annual ordinary expenses of the Swedish army, from 1854 to 1856, was 4,387,950 dollars banco, or 365,662*l.*; and for extraordinary expenses 2,227,866 dollars (185,655*l.*) spread over three years. The amount voted for ordinary expenses of the navy was 1,584,240 dollars (132,020*l.*) per annum; and for extraordinary, 1,240,000 dollars (103,333*l.*) during three years. These votes are independent of Norway.

Both navies possess a well-educated and intelligent set of officers. Many of the gun-boats are heavily armed—seventy-nine of the Norwegian, for instance, being mounted with ten sixty pounders each; while the armament of the whole is superior in quality to any in the world, the Swedish guns being justly celebrated for their strength and durability. Many nations have recognised this, and have taken care to provide themselves with Swedish artillery; but no country has laid in so large a stock as Russia.

By the death of the Emperor Nicholas one of the strongest obstacles to an union of Sweden with the Western alliance was removed. That Sovereign, by a long-continued and dexterous policy, had obtained a certain influence over the Swedish King and royal family; not that ascendency which could have been exercised in a way directly injurious to the country, or that would have led King Oscar to adopt the political views of the Russian Autocrat, but a sentiment that would have made the former very reluctant to commence hostilities with the

latter, unless some threatening demonstration or aggressive movement were made against the Swedish territories.

The late Czar probably foresaw that a time might arrive like the present, when even the neutrality of Sweden would be of great importance to Russia; and knowing full well that the sentiments of the Swedish people were unfavourable to him, he hoped by family ties to gain that influence with the court which could be secured through no other channel.

He therefore married one of his daughters to the Duke of Leuchtenberg, brother of the present Queen of Sweden, and was the great encourager, if not proposer, of the marriage of the Crown Prince Charles of Sweden with a niece of the Empress his wife. The kindly feelings produced between the two Courts by these family connections were cemented and strengthened by numerous attentions and kindnesses, gracefully offered, which could not fail to be highly flattering to the members of so young a dynasty when coming from the proudest Monarch of Europe. This tie was, however, of a purely personal nature, and never could have been changed into a political amalgamation; for the interests of Sweden, the opinions of her people, and, we may add, of her Monarch, are diametrically opposed to the principles of autocratic government. Rash indeed would be the Swedish King who ventured to display a predilection for them.

On Saturday, the twenty-second of June, when walking into the city, we were surprised to see every individual who came towards us carrying boughs of trees, or light frames made of sticks decorated with painted egg-shells, scraps of ribbon, and bright-coloured pieces of rag. On

reaching the market, we found an extensive trade going on in these fantastic objects; and few who entered the busy mart left it without purchasing one or more of them.

We learned on inquiry that they were intended for the decoration of the houses on Midsummer's (St. John's) Day, one of the greatest and most ancient festivals of Sweden; the first of May being another of the same description. On these occasions the lower orders give themselves up to festivity, which too often terminates in drunkenness and debauchery.

The Swedes are at all times great pleasure-seekers, and, retaining as they do the Bacchanalian propensities of their forefathers, most of their amusements are attended with excess; still withal they are lighthearted and merry, not usually accompanying their indulgence with great viciousness. During the long twilight of summer they often continue their out-of-door pleasures until the morning sun is high,—drinking, singing, and dancing the night through, if that can be called night which has no darkness. They are very fond of dancing; and the women, once being warmed to the exercise, keep it up with wonderful pertinacity.

Amongst the more immoral, the dances at such meetings are frequently of the most obscene description. These gross performances are no doubt derived from the Pagan times, being but the remains of those drunken orgies which followed the human and other sacrifices in honour of Odin, and that even in those days were revolting to all but the depraved. "The licentiousness of these feasts," says Mallet, "at length increased to such a pitch as to

become mere Bacchanalian meetings, where, to the sound of barbarous music, amidst shouts, dancing, and indecent gestures, so many unseemly actions were committed, that the wisest men refused to assist at them." Some other less objectionable Swedish dances are also very ancient.

The question of ardent spirits is for Sweden one of deep, almost vital importance. It has for centuries occupied the attention of the legislature, and caused anxiety and alarm to all well-wishers of their country. The use of brandy commenced in Sweden about the middle of the fourteenth, and the fabrication in Stockholm at the latter end of the fifteenth century; but it was then principally employed as a medicament, being considered a preservative against certain diseases, and especially the plague. The recommendation of this spirit by the physicians did much to render its use popular, and the abuse soon followed. To such an extent had this gone, even in the time of Gustavus I., that in 1550 he considered it necessary to forbid distillation; but it was again permitted, and from that time has never ceased to cause trouble.

In 1740 the fabrication of brandy from grain was interdicted, but in 1742 the liberty was re-established, a duty being imposed. In 1747 the opposition of the nobles and peasants alone prevented its production becoming a monopoly of the State. The prohibition was renewed in 1756, and permission again accorded in 1760. In 1773 the still makers were forbidden to manufacture more stills, but in 1775 royal distilleries were established in different parts of the kingdom, and submitted to a special direction. That of Gripsholm had not less than twenty-nine stills, each holding from twelve hundred to three thousand

kannas, or, in round numbers, from six to fifteen hundred gallons, so that as much as seventy-six tons of grain could be consumed by them alone in one day.

The production of spirits on so vast a scale did not fail to disseminate the taste for it more widely amongst the people, while the profit to the Crown proving considerably less than was expected, Gustavus III. regretted having favoured the project, and proposed that the freedom of distillation should again be allowed on condition that the Diet awarded him a remuneration; but so considerable a sum was demanded that the nobles and peasants rejected the proposition, and consequently the King continued to hold this pernicious monopoly.

In 1787 the right of private distilling was leased for ten years, and this lease was renewed in 1798, but the crown distilleries continued to work until 1823. They were then completely abolished, but only after it was found that the spirit distilled in them cost three times as much as when made by private individuals.

Distillation is now permitted during the months of January, February, March, April, November, and December. Up to the year 1853 the conditions for the privilege of making brandy were very light; for instance, in the towns it was necessary only to be a proprietor paying three hundred rix dollars, or 25*l.* per annum taxes, and a certain duty, fixed by law, on each *kanna* of spirit distilled. Under these regulations it was found that the quantity continued each year to increase, while the consumption of the country, and the consequent demoralisation of the people, progressed in the same ratio; so that it was thought necessary to interfere again by law to check, if

possible, a vice that was hurrying the nation on to a state of frightful moral degradation. A bill was accordingly introduced and carried in the Diet of 1853 and 1854, raising the duty on this liquor to sixteen skillings, or about sevenpence per *kanna*, thus increasing the cost of the little glass from two to four skillings in the taverns. It is considered that if the Swedish Government should succeed in preventing smuggling and illicit distillation, this tax will add 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 dollars (from 125,000*l.* to 166,000*l.*) to the yearly revenue; while, on the other hand, it will prove a salutary check to the drunkenness that has become so menacing to the country. Inebriety is ever accompanied with poverty, so we meet in Sweden objects of wretchedness such as are never seen in Denmark.

We have given this lengthened sketch of the rise and progress of alcoholic consumption in Sweden, not only because the question is of immense importance to that kingdom, but from its being one of serious import to Great Britain also. Who shall say how many of the eight hundred and forty thousand wretched beings that sought relief from public charity in England and Wales in 1854 did not owe their pauperism, directly or indirectly, to the pernicious habit of drinking ardent spirits! Alas! we fear that if the cause of extreme indigence in every case could be traced to its source, few, very few instances would be found that did not, either remotely or immediately, result from this deplorable vice.

CHAP. XXV.

ARRIVAL OF A BRIDE ELECT. — POPULAR JOY. — A WEDDING DAY. — A ROYAL MARRIAGE. — THE THEATRE AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS. — A TRAGEDY. — JENNY LIND. — NATIONAL DANCES.

STOCKHOLM at the time of our visit was unusually full for that season of the year, when those who can manage to leave the metropolis fly to the country. Now all classes of natives, and many foreigners, were flocking to the capital. One only topic furnished conversation, — one only thought engrossed the public mind — the fêtes to be given on the marriage of the Prince Royal with a princess of the Netherlands, to witness which we had given up an intended trip to the North Cape.

The 15th of June — long looked forward to as the day on which the bride elect was to land on Swedish shore — at length arrived. But, alas! the sun that had shone so brightly for weeks before was now obscured; nevertheless, from an early hour, thousands of the curious were seen pouring along the roads towards the Djurgård, while, later in the day, each ferry-boat, and every species of vehicle, filled with their living freights and loads, proceeded in the same direction.

We were fortunate enough to obtain tickets for an inclosed space near to the landing-place, which consisted

of a stage thrown out, and carpeted for the occasion. Not far from it were moored — on that branch of the Baltic reaching to Stockholm — four Swedish men-of-war, with two brigades of gun-boats; and as the longed-for hour drew nigh, the surface of the water became covered with a variety of craft, from the diminutive coble to the fumy steamer, — all gaudily decked out with rags or bunting, according to the taste or length of purse that appertained to each particular owner.

On the opposite side of the fiord, where brown rocks rise uncheered by vegetation, numbers of people had collected, and squatted patiently upon every available point of their stony locality, or took advantage of each little space that admitted a standing group; while tens of thousands were huddled together in the Djurgård, or stretched along the route by which the royal party was to proceed towards the Haga Palace, placed at the disposal of the expected princess and her parents. There was, however, nothing enlivening in the state of the weather, for the rain came pattering down; but in spite of that the scene was very animated.

At six o'clock in the evening the booming guns announced the approaching vessel, and soon a huge steamer, with engines stopped, moved slowly up: the princely party stepped into a barge, and were received on the jetty by all the members of the Swedish royal family — even including the good old Queen Dowager — together with the great officers of state. The embraces were numerous, the greetings cordial, the guns thundered forth their salvoes, the air was beaten by hundreds of snowy handkerchiefs, thousands of hats whirled in giddy circles

above the heads of young and old, agitated umbrellas scattered their sparkling spray, boisterous shouts of welcome mingled with cries of loyalty, and the multitude in one voice proclaimed the intended union popular.

Louise, daughter of Prince Frederic of the Netherlands by a sister of the King of Prussia, was born in August, 1828; and Charles, Duke of Scania, the Prince Royal, her intended husband, was born in May, 1826. The Swedes liked this match because the Princess was of a Protestant family, and had moreover in possession, a considerable fortune, left by her grandfather the King of Holland. "We are a poor people," said they, "and it is a good thing for our princes to have wherewithal to live in proper state without taking everything from us."

If the heavens were not propitious on the day that Louise of the Netherlands first stepped upon that land destined to be her future home, and of which she might reasonably anticipate to share the throne—the 19th of June, her wedding-day, was one of unusual loveliness,—not a speck appeared upon the pale blue firmament, each nebulous formation was swept away, and the sun held sole dominion over the boundless æther. "Happy is the bride that the sun shineth upon,"—happy then, indeed, should be this daughter of the House of Orange!

A little before noon of that day a body of cavalry moved along the Stora Gaten, making the houses vibrate with their tramp and clatter: this was the commencement of a procession escorting the bride to the royal palace from that of Haga. Next came rumbling over the uneven stones a line of carriages, containing the great officers of state, the municipal council, and other functionaries, followed by an

equipage in which were the princely party, with the *affiancée* in bridal robes; and after them, by the ladies of the court, in a number of elegant carriages, succeeded by another troop of horse-guards. They passed slowly along —a goodly company—between two lines of people, who shouted forth their boisterous acclamations.

We, having been summoned, duly made our appearance at the palace about half-past four in the afternoon, and there found assembled the whole diplomatic body, the special ambassadors from foreign courts sent to be present on this occasion, and a few strangers, who, like ourselves, had been honoured with invitations to witness the marriage ceremony.

Properly marshalled, we made our exit from the palace and walked in procession to the cathedral on a planked way laid over the wretched pitching—an arrangement of infinite comfort to the ladies about to follow. A double row of foot-guards on either side lined the road. Thousands and thousands of beings were there, squeezed into compact masses; stages, and galleries of seats, raised one above the other, were erected on every available spot, and filled with gaily dressed persons, while each window commanding a view, and even the housetops, added their numbers to increase the animation of the scene. The brightness and variety of colouring, the gay uniforms, the pretty female faces, and the general expression of joyousness that pervaded the multitude, produced an unsurpassed combination of what may not inappropriately be called the living picturesque.

On our arrival at the Cathedral we were agreeably surprised to find that a gallery immediately behind the King's

throne, and commanding a view of the altar, together with the whole church, was appropriated to the party we accompanied, and to the ladies of foreign embassies. We were scarcely settled in our places, when the enthusiastic roarings from without came pealing through the sacred edifice in a deep, subdued, rolling sound, like the noise of big waves falling on a far-off shore.

The music within burst forth shortly after, filling the old vaulted church with a flood of melody sublime; and, at the same instant, as if by touch of magic wand, uprose the assembled company, for the King had entered. The bride, superbly arrayed; the Queen, Queen-dowager, the bride's mother, and the Princess Eugénie, passed in succession, each with two ladies as train-bearers, also wearing trains; and the whole, as they swept along, resembling a number of majestic swans.

When the royal party and their attendant suites had taken their places, a scene more imposing could scarcely be imagined. Every nook and corner of the vast edifice was occupied; the elegant toilettes of the ladies contrasted with the sober uniforms of the legislative bodies; while the military costumes of the Swedish and foreign services, sprinkled here and there, or collected in groups, gave to the assemblage a captivating variety, which, in the distant parts of the building, being subdued and softened by an imperfect light, obtained the additional charm of mystery.

In front of the altar were too chairs and a *prie dieu*, all covered with white satin, on which the bride and bridegroom sat or knelt during the marriage service. The Archbishop of Upsal, and several attendant bishops, ar-

rayed in magnificent sacerdotal robes, officiated, performing the ceremony with peculiar solemnity.

Immediately in front of us sat all the royal ladies; and more than once, as we looked towards them, we observed the Queen struggling with her maternal feelings; but, spite of etiquette — spite of the iron rules that bind royal personages to maintain upon all public occasions a cold dignity of bearing, — the woman triumphed over royalty, — nature claimed her place in the mother's heart — a big tear trembled on the lid — it was dashed away, but others rose to take its place. Was there one being present who, observing, did not feel a sympathising admiration for this evidence of goodness, — did not recognise in this touching incident a confirmation of what her countenance proclaims, — that this royal lady possesses a soul filled with the finest sentiments?

Daughter of Eugène Beauharnais, the chivalrous viceroy of Italy, and grand-daughter of the Empress Josephine, the Princess Josephine Maximilienne-Eugénie of Leuchtenburg was born on the 14th of March 1807, and married on the 19th of June 1823, at sixteen years of age, to Oscar, Crown Prince of Sweden, who ascended the throne in 1844. Thus was the day of which we write the twenty-seventh anniversary of her wedding; yet did the Queen retain an unusual appearance of youth, and much of that beauty which was of so admirable a description.

But it is her expression which is so peculiarly winning, for the stamp of amiability with rare intelligence are there combined; these with a graceful figure and deportment, and a manner full of dignity, softened to sweetness by benevolence, make her admirably suited to her high posi-

tion. Meet such a person in private life, and one might exclaim, "How well fitted is she to be a queen;"—seeing her on a throne, one says, "How well she is adapted for private life."

The bride went through her part of the ceremony with great composure. She was dignified, but her expression had a trace of firmness perhaps too decided for her age and the occasion. In person she is tall and commanding; her countenance, without being decidedly handsome, denotes much intelligence and decision of character; while she has a graceful *tournure*, holds her head erect, and walks with a majestic step.

On the conclusion of the marriage service, the Prince led his bride to the King, Queen, and other members of the royal family, who embraced them in succession; after which they returned to the altar's front, where the nobles in turn paid their respects, and then the ladies of the Court, who, in addition, kissed the bride's hand.

The Prince and Princess, preceded by the great functionaries, now took their places in the procession, and were followed by the King and the rest of the Court, the diplomatic corps, which we accompanied, and the public bodies, the whole returning to the palace, as they had come to the Cathedral, on foot. The necks and heads of the ladies were uncovered, but their *coiffures* lost nothing in effect from the gentle waving of the feathers, stirred by the lightest breeze. Yet well it was for them that the heavens proved so propitious.

The prolonged cheerings of the people told how sincere was their joy on the occasion. Their demonstrations of

pleasure were more than enthusiastic, — they were wild. May all their hopes for the future be realised.

As we followed in the procession an interesting incident occurred;—a young diplomatist by our side picked up a small article of a lady's toilette, of green satin, exquisitely embroidered, and furnished with golden clasps. What *could* it be? We blush to say more than "*honi soit qui mal y pense!*" Albeit, the youthful finder was in raptures, many an envious glance was cast towards him by his juvenile *confrères*, and a satisfactory proof was given that the Swedish ladies, even to hidden details, were well dressed.

The marriage was of course followed by *fêtes*, and amusements suited to all classes. Amongst them were two *gala spectacles* given in the theatre by the King. We received invitations to the first, and had allotted to us most desirable places in the second tier of boxes.

The pit, being nearly all boarded over, was occupied by the King, the newly-married pair, and royal family, with their distinguished guests, the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and the foreign ministers. The house was crowded with members of the nobility, high military authorities, and other distinguished Swedes, with their wives and daughters, and some few strangers. Every one appeared in court dress or uniform; some of the latter were brilliant in the extreme, being literally covered with orders. All the nations of Europe being represented, the costumes were most varied, for even the quiet Swedish professor wore an embroidered coat.

The light was good, and the splendid dresses of the ladies showed off to advantage; but there was too much

natural loveliness about many of them to permit us long to scrutinise the "foreign ornament," of which they needed not the aid to make them admirable. But even bright eyes and smiling lips—the dazzling scene—the interesting occasion—the beautiful music of the overture—had no power to chain our thoughts to the present; association was too strong, so, in spite of our efforts, it carried us away to the past. Fifty-eight years before this same theatre was crowded as much as now; the lights were as brilliant, the costumes as varied, and the company as good, but the scene was different.

On those boards then wandered and mingled together hundreds of beings arrayed in the costumes of every nation and age; lively airs gave spirit to the dance; merry groups collected here and there; wit came forth in brilliant sallies, and satire found objects whereon to spirt its venom; the intriguer whispered and the lover sighed; but the voice and eyes alone proclaimed the feelings or the passions of individuals in that mysterious crowd, for the occasion was a masked ball.

One figure there was—a simple domino, with slouched hat and white feathers—that moved about amidst the throng, conversing and observing, and fancying himself secure, in the concealment of his mask, from the danger of which he had received warning; but at the hour of midnight—that hour which demons of mischief are said ever to choose for the perpetration of foul deeds—a ruffian, who had dodged him, drew forth a loaded pistol on a given signal, fired, and Gustavus III. fell weltering in his blood.

Retaining his presence of mind, he despatched a page to his brother, the Duke of Sodermania, whose attendants,

believing their lord to have long before retired to rest, protested against the King's messenger disturbing him; the latter, however, made his way to the apartment of the Duke, and was astonished to find him arrayed in full military uniform, decorated with all his orders. This and other suspicious circumstances induce the belief that he was not unaware of the intended assassination of his brother.

Gustavus lingered but a few days, and left his crown to a youthful son; during whose minority the Duke his uncle acted as Regent. That boy was Gustavus IV., who was chased from his throne seventeen years after his father's murder. That uncle, on his nephew's deposition, became King of Sweden as Charles XIII., and adopted as his son Jean Charles Bernadotte, Duc de Ponte-Corvo, who was elected Crown Prince in 1810.

This rapid series of events passed quickly through my brain; but still my thoughts turned again to poor Gustavus; and the horrid tragedy came so vividly before me, that in fancy I heard the signal of "Good night, pretty mask!" given by Count Horn—saw the assassin Ankerstroem take the deadly aim—heard the King's groan of agony—marked the dolorous expression of his large blue eyes—and observed the blood running from his mortal wound; but from these reveries I was suddenly called to consciousness by a voice, rich and full, though soft and touching, which filled the house with liquid harmony, and invested even Italian song with charms, such as, in his wildest dreams, the composer never could have imagined.

An orchestral performance of great merit followed, and then again the singer came; but this time she struck

another chord; now every note was wild and thrilling — thrilling from concentrated feeling, which, bursting suddenly the spell that bound it, rushed on one full of fervid vehemence, uttered in words not understood by us, and yet conveyed in such wondrously impassioned melody as to penetrate the very soul, and brand it with the burning sentiments portrayed.

Who could *thus* identify herself, and identify her listeners *thus*, with the fiery spirit of the Swedish mountain peasant, but Jenny Lind? Yes, it was Jenny Lind before us, upon those very boards that had felt her trembling *début*, and had witnessed her first public triumph! It was Jenny Lind singing her own wild native airs, in presence of that King and royal family who had encouraged and protected her, and of the noble and distinguished of her land, many of them her loving friends, most her attached acquaintances, and all her enthusiastic worshippers.

With such an audience, in such a place, and on such an occasion, a less sensitive being would have been inspired; so, by an exaltation of her exalted genius, she, who had before excelled all other singers, now excelled herself. She ceased. For some moments death fell upon all sound, and suspended animation upon the audience. Then came the signal from the King, and approbation followed — not loud, but deep, fervid, and intense, as though each individual were shaking a load from off his heart. Loud applause is but *pleasure's* boisterous child; *this* was the offspring of wrought-up feeling. The listeners were more than pleased, they were electrified, and the subtle fluid went not only to the heart, but crept over the corporeal

surface, and vibrated nervously through each extremity. Say — those who have experienced it — is "pleasure" a word descriptive of such sensation?

Again the enchanting songstress comes upon the stage. That voice, which just rang in accents harmoniously full and piercing, is now but a softer echo of the softest flute. The accompanying instrument ceases; but what is that we hear? It does not seem like sound, so near is it to silence. A mysterious spiritual vocality, stealing through the atmosphere — flitting here and there — always dying never dead, but still distinct in stilly harmony. One dared not breathe lest the vibrating air should chase away the phantom canzonet. O, rare mistress of the Euterpean art, what sweet enchantment dost thou fling over us by thy vocalized magic!

The first part of the evening's entertainment consisted only of songs by "the Lind;" after which, the fair *chanteuse* took a seat reserved in the next box to ours, and we had an opportunity of observing closely the expression of a countenance so well known to my readers as to require no description here. The second part consisted of characteristic dances and national songs of the countries and provinces under the dominion of Sweden. The first dance was Swedish, and amusing enough. The second was a superstitious ceremony of the Lapps, representing an invocation of the divining drum, in which a man and woman went through a variety of contortions — bowing to, twisting round, kicking at, and rubbing noses over, this said drum, until the man worked himself into a frenzy, and fell down in a trance. The assembled party of Lapps then threw themselves into attitudes of grief, and gave way to a hundred

wild gesticulations, accompanied by a low moaning noise; until the insensible man, being again roused to life, jumped up suddenly and recommenced his exertions as frantically as before, in which all joined.

The divining drum was in use among the Lapps until the beginning of this century. Every family possessed one of these magic tambours, and consulted it on ordinary occasions; but if any event of importance occurred, such as a serious illness, or disease amongst the cattle, a professed magician (*Noaaid*) was called in, who went through certain ceremonies over the drum, accompanying them with frightful grimaces and contortions, while at the same time he took an immoderate quantity of brandy and tobacco, until he fell into a drunken stupor, which the standers-by supposed to be a trance. On awaking, he persuaded his credulous victims that he had communicated with certain deities in a *passe warcke*, or holy mountain, to which, while sleeping, he had been carried. He then ordered a sacrifice of a fat reindeer, killed it himself, became the principal feaster on its flesh, and, under the agreeable influence of the aliment, he usually promised a favourable interposition of the deity in the case on which he had been consulted.

These drums were marked with cabalistic figures; and the manner of using them was to place a ring upon the skin, which was then struck with a stick, and the augury was considered good or bad according to the sign upon which the ring rested. The Noaaids, however, resorted to a more ingenious method; they placed a needle instead of the ring, and, dexterously applying a magnet to the under surface of the skin, moved the index to any sign

that best suited their purpose. The attracting power of the artificial magnet is said to have been early known to these Lapland magicians, and carefully guarded by them as a secret.

The good-tempered Dalecarlians, with their grotesque costumes and thick, heel-centred shoes, followed the Lapps, and acquitted themselves to admiration in their characteristic dance. The Norwegians did the same; and then the whole combined, and went through a variety of Terpsichorean exercises. The actors may have slightly exaggerated their parts; but the performance was excellent, and the character of each national dance faithfully depicted, so that the whole affair was highly interesting.

We had heard Jenny Lind sing at the last concert of a series given by her at Stockholm, to raise the necessary funds to found an institution for distressed orphans, or children of musicians; and we again had the delight of listening to her at the second gala spectacle, for which we obtained a ticket to go behind the scenes. All Swedes with whom we conversed on the subject, said that Jenny Lind had never been heard before to sing so well as she did at these two gala spectacles.

CHAP. XXVI.

A PRESENTATION TO THE ROYAL FAMILY. — A COURT BALL. — KING OSCAR. — THE QUEEN DOWAGER. — MILITARY SPECTACLE. — MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICE. — SWEDISH LITERATURE. — SWEDEN A LAND OF ROMANCE.

THE King was so much occupied after our arrival at Stockholm, that we and some other foreigners, who reached the capital about the same time, were unable to obtain an audience; but His Majesty graciously permitted us to be present at the marriage and gala spectacle without going through the usual formality, it being arranged that we should have the honour of a presentation on the night of the great ball to take place at the palace. We accordingly received a summons from the Grand-master of Ceremonies for the 25th at half-past eight in the evening, and made our appearance punctually at that time.

After ascending the grand staircase—one of the noblest flights in Europe—we were conducted through two apartments to a third, where were assembled the *corps diplomatique*, and the strangers for presentation. Here the company were arranged in a circle; soon after which the King, Queen, and Queen Dowager entered, and we had the honour of being presented to these royal personages. Their Majesties passed round in succession, and each

individual was separately introduced. The King and Queen condescended to address some remarks to myself and others, but the Queen Dowager bowed only to each person as she passed along.

This ceremony being over, the doors were thrown open, and we followed the courtly train through a fine long gallery, crowded on each side by the assembled guests. We could now see a splendid range of apartments, of which this gallery was the centre, all handsomely decorated, and having richly painted ceilings. A line of chandeliers hung from one end to the other of this noble suite, filled with thousands of burning wax candles, the rays from which were drowned by a flood of red and glowing light, that poured through the open windows, producing an unusual, strange, yet beautiful effect, to be witnessed in a high northern latitude alone under such circumstances, and at such a time of night.

Slowly we made our way towards the ball-room, which formed part of another elegant range extending at right angles to the one we were traversing. By the time we reached it the dancing had commenced, and a hundred couples were gliding swiftly over the highly-polished *parquet*, in the giddy mazes of the *deux temps*, amongst whom the Crown Prince was most conspicuous. Whether the Swedes be unaccustomed to dance upon polished floors we know not, but certain it is that on this occasion we witnessed several very disagreeable falls, not, however, from any fault in the dancing, which was unusually good.

The ladies' toilettes were charming, and there were many among the fair Swedes who well sustained the reputation they have of being beautiful; still, judging

from this assembly,—a good criterion,—we did not think the female aristocracy, as a class, so handsome or so pretty as the lower order of Swedish women. In the manner and bearing of the Swedish lady, however, there is nothing wanting; she is what the French call *si gracieuse*,—that mingling of kindliness with grace which produces fascination.

The nobleman of Sweden, too, will vie with him of any other nation in all those attributes which constitute the gentleman; he is chivalrous in feeling, has an acute perception of the honourable, possesses suavity of manner and dignity of deportment, is always accomplished, and generally well read. The Swedish aristocracy are often good linguists, and many of them converse with facility in several modern languages. On one occasion, at a dinner-party of fourteen,—my friend and self being the only two foreigners present,—the conversation was kept up in English, in which, if I remember correctly, all, or nearly all, the persons present joined, ladies as well as gentlemen.

But let us back to the ball! The supper was given in the apartments of the Queen Dowager, on our way to which we passed through the King's private suite, and thus had, in both, an opportunity of examining those choice works of art that we have already noticed. Of the supper, it is only necessary to say that, although in profusion, the evidences were not wanting, even at the table of Swedish Royalty, to prove the indifference of the Swedish *cuisine*.

We have already spoken of the personal appearance of the Queen. We will now say a few words of the King.

His Majesty is a handsome man with very dark hair, black eyes, an aquiline nose, and good forehead, denoting more than average intellect. His countenance is rather thoughtful in expression, but the prevailing tone is benevolent. A gentle inclination of the head, and a slight hesitation when speaking, denote only a moderate amount of self-esteem, while an unfaltering step, an easy carriage, and a dignified manner, give an imposing presence to a fine person.

Few sovereigns of Europe occupy themselves in the real business of state so much as King Oscar. He has considerable application, and not only makes himself acquainted with affairs of the first importance, but closely examines all minor questions of political economy brought before him, and often even takes the initiative in matters for the social improvement of his people. He is on many points decidedly in advance of his subjects, taking enlarged and clear views of the new ideas that are generated by modern intellect. Not being quick in decision, he weighs and deliberates, in some cases perhaps a little too long; but then he reasons logically, and his conclusions are generally sound. He possesses, in fact, great prudence, but not that amount of caution which leads to hesitation; and that, in excess, is the greatest barrier to individual or national advancement. Strong common sense is in him at once the offspring and the foundation of a well-balanced, though not a brilliantly talented, organism.

King Oscar is admired and beloved by his people, and even those who object to the dynasty are said to respect the man and the sovereign. He is not unknown in the literary world of Sweden, having, as Crown Prince,

written and published on more than one subject,—a book containing some valuable observations on the nature of punishments and prison discipline being due to his pen; while as a musical composer he possesses no ordinary talent, some of his productions having been played with success at the theatre of Stockholm. He is also an enthusiastic admirer of the fine arts in other branches, and a liberal encourager of them, as well as of science and literature.

The King and Queen have three sons and one daughter living — Charles, Duke of Scania, heir to the throne, who, by the marriage at which we were present, has an infant princess; Oscar, Duke of Ostrogothie, Admiral-in-Chief of the Royal Navy; Nicholas Augustus, Duke of Dalecarlia; and the Princess Eugénie, born in April, 1830. Gustavus, Duke of Upland, the third son, has died since our visit to Stockholm.

We cannot take leave of the Swedish Royal Family without giving a short notice of the good old Queen Dowager, whose career was, for forty-six years, linked with that of Bernadotte, and whose history, although neither so exciting, nor so extraordinary, as her husband's, has still some incidents of deep interest.

Désirée Clary was the daughter of an honourable and opulent Marseilles merchant; she appears to have possessed attractions which drew to her feet many suitors, and those when she was yet in early maidenhood, for she was but seventeen on her marriage. Of the precise order in which the lovers appeared we are not cognisant, but we shall begin with the humblest on record, lest his merits

should be eclipsed in the more brilliant pretensions of the others.

It is said that amongst the friends who visited at the house of M. Clary was a young Swede engaged in mercantile affairs, who possessed considerable personal attractions; be that as it may, he saw and loved the fair Désirée, and whisper said his suit was favourably regarded; but the father of the maiden, as fathers often will, stepped between their young affections, and the handsome Swede received his *congé*.

Désirée was, however, engaged to General Duphot, who was murdered at Rome; but a yet more brilliant offer was in store for her, as no less a personage than the great Napoleon, when a general, before he married Josephine, the widow of the unfortunate Beauharnais, demanded her hand. He pressed his suit with ardour; and on one occasion, with a remarkable foreshadowing of his future career, he said to her, "I will give you the most splendid existence; perhaps I may pass like a meteor, but I dare to assure you that the memory of my passage will remain behind."* Yet, in spite of the dazzling promises of the future Emperor, M. Clary again interfered, saying that one Bonaparte was quite enough in his family — another daughter having married Joseph, the brother of Napoleon.

If, however, the Imperial diadem slipped from the brow of Désirée Clary, a crown was in perspective; and on the 16th of August, 1798, she was led to the altar by Bernadotte, already the distinguished general and diplomatist.

Twelve years rolled by, and the Duc de Ponte-Corvo

* "Histoire de Charles XIV.," par Touchard Lafosse.

was elected Crown Prince of Sweden; he arrived at the capital of his future kingdom with his wife, now in the bloom of womanhood. A great ball took place, at which was present a burgess of repute, a man of influence, married, and the father of a family; with this honourable citizen the Crown Princess went forth to dance,—he was no other than the Swede, her former lover; and from that day, whether as Crown Princess or Queen of Sweden, Désirée Clary has always paid a generous attention to M. Ardwedsson, the wealthy banker of Stockholm. He was still living when we were in Sweden, having attained a good old age, and holding a distinguished position in his order.

When we were honoured with a presentation the Queen Dowager was in her sixty-ninth year, and had the appearance of enjoying excellent health. In person she is rather short and stout, her manner is gracious, and her countenance the very type of benevolence; while her life seems spent in scattering happiness, for her acts of charity are innumerable. Since her accession to the proud position she has so long held in Sweden, her behaviour has ever been marked by great good sense; while the extreme kindliness of her nature has not failed to draw respect from all who have come in contact with her.

She has great power of enduring cold; and, often to the discomfort of her ladies and gentlemen in waiting, the Queen Dowager's apartments, even in the most rigorous season, are kept far below the temperature of any other part of the royal palace; while with the thermometer at zero, her Majesty clothes herself in much less fur than is generally used by the ladies of the country.

There is always a melancholy excitement in witnessing the evolutions of a large body of troops, for although the movements be peaceful, the associations are with the din and clang of war. With its glories, its heroism, its adventures, its hardships, its disasters, its sufferings, its *blood!* With the dying — with the dead! With parents' grief, — with widows' anguish — with orphans' sorrow — with lovers' agony

We once saw the Emperor Nicholas passing in review an army of eighty thousand men. How many of those beings, then all in the full vigour of physical power, now exist? Doubtless but few! We saw the Emperor Napoleon, a few months since, in the presence of our Queen, reviewing fifty thousand troops. How many of these, all then full of vital stamina, will remain twelve months hence? Perhaps not many!

The military spectacle in the King's park, of which we are about to speak, was a scene of a totally different character to either of the above. The number of troops was comparatively small, but thirteen thousand better equipped or finer looking men were never brought together on any field.

The morning was sunny, the atmosphere clear, and freshened by a breeze coming up from the Baltic. We took an advantageous position on a hillock. In front of us were the troops, forming three sides of a hollow square, the fourth being occupied by a long covered gallery, in which were the Queen and Royal Family, with their guests, and attendant suites, and the diplomatic body. A hill in the background was covered from base to summit with well-dressed persons, nearly all ladies, having parasols above

their heads, of diversified and gay colours, which from the distance resembled a vast mound of gigantic flowers waving in the wind. High above this variegated assemblage rose the Crown Prince's canvas pavilion, in form like an eastern pagoda, surmounted by a huge golden crown, over which fluttered the national flag. On the right stretched the white tents of the army, while between them and the noble trees beyond, could be seen sparkling, the sunlit waters of the lovely fiord that separates the reviewing ground from the Djurgård. In every direction flocked comely-looking people, for all Stockholm had poured forth in gayest costume; and vehicles of each description, from the emblazoned equipage of royalty to the unpainted *cariole*, studded the field.

Presently the King, in a general's uniform, and the Crown Prince, as Commander-in-Chief, appeared on their caparisoned chargers, followed by a brilliant staff. They rode along the lines, and then the former presented colours to two regiments; but this was not the great object of the day.

It was Sunday, and the troops were assembled for divine service. In the middle of the square a black reading-desk was raised, to which the minister ascended, and from that moment the multitude of spectators became stationary, while perfect silence reigned, save from the deep, full tones of the preacher's voice, which reached us even at the far distance from him where we stood. It was a solemn thing to see those thousands of soldiers standing, or sitting in their saddles, mute and motionless, listening to flowing words of peace, while in every hand gleamed a weapon of destruction; and to observe the light

flashing from casque and breastplate of burnished steel, while the minister of religion was perhaps telling them how a Saviour came into this world to advocate good will to all men.

The service ended, twelve united bands burst forth in martial strains — the field was once more a moving panorama — the great bouquet of parasols was broken up — the troops defiled, and again, swords, bayonets, and helmets flashed back sunbeams — the mettled steeds of King and staff bounded over the elastic turf — the Royal carriages dashed along — and the human masses crumbled into fragments.

A few days after this, a grand sham fight took place between two bodies, into which the army was divided. This lasted two days, the troops bivouacking on the ground they held in the evening. The affair was spirited, and as the Crown Prince commanded one of the miniature armies, we were not surprised to learn, on the second evening, that, by a strategic movement of consummate skill, he had completely routed the enemy.

This was the last time the troops were brought together previously to the breaking up of the camp, so, after the fighting was over, the men formed in line, and the King addressed each regiment in complimentary terms, and from each received four hearty cheers. We once caught His Majesty's voice, mellow, yet rich, but now displaying none of that hesitation we had before noticed in private. The Crown Prince — as fine a looking soldier as any on the ground — also made a short speech to each regiment, which met with the same applause.

We are now fairly tired of camps and soldiers, nor should

we have troubled our readers with so much of them but that they contain some information on the state of Sweden, in a military point of view, just now unusually interesting.

Liberty of the press is a fundamental principle of the Swedish constitution, and the number of journals are consequently great, while the editorial talent is of a superior description. There are a hundred and twenty newspapers and other periodicals published in the country.

The *Post och Inrikes Tidningar*, the official journal, the *Svenska Tidningen*, semi-official, and the *Aftonbladet*, moderate opposition, are the most important newspapers published in Stockholm. The last has seven thousand subscribers, is edited by M. Bergsted, and is the most influential journal in the kingdom. It advocates reform in the internal administration, and urges a more scientific working of the natural resources of the country. It is the organ of the Liberal party; but its views are not extreme, and its professed aim is to raise Sweden to that rank amongst nations that the intelligence of her people and the extent of her territory demand. It points out that the extension of her commercial relations, the development of her industry, the perfecting of her social institutions, the laying down of railways, and the adoption of all the improvements in modern science, will prove the surest foundation for political influence abroad. The *Aftonbladet* is interdicted in Finland, as its sentiments are opposed to autocracy, and its writings are therefore considered too dangerous to be allowed circulation amongst the subjects of the Czar.

The principal newspapers of the provinces are the *Gottenburg Gazette*, and the *Malmœ Post*, the former Liberal and the latter Ministerial.

There are upwards of thirty literary, scientific, and religious reviews,—comparatively, a very large number of this kind of publication. Their articles are generally from the pens of able men; and the talent thrown into the questions of which they treat gives them not only great interest to the reader, but exercises a wide extended influence over the public mind. Nor is it alone in these more ephemeral productions that Sweden holds a conspicuous place in European literature; for, considering the amount of her population, she is not behind the civilized world in the various branches of belles-lettres.

Geyer, the distinguished historian and poet; Millson and Holmburg, eminent archæologists; Strinnholm, Fryxell, Silvertope, Ridderstad, Frederica Bremer, Almquist, Borgesson, Blanche, Jolin, Kremer, Afzelius, and many others, do honour to their country; while we might equally bring forward from the ranks of science, numerous men now living, with Linnæus and Berzelius from amongst those who are gone, as illustrious examples of talent.

Indigenous dramatic writers are not, however, numerous, for it is only lately that genius has developed itself in this direction; but the new field promises well, and the elements to work upon from the national history are so rich and abundant, that we may confidently look forward to the Swedish drama speedily taking a good position.

In 1850 upwards of a thousand works issued from the Swedish press,—a most creditable number for so small a country; of these, one hundred and eighty-two were theological, one hundred and fifty-six political, one hundred

and twenty-three on jurisprudence, eighty historical, thirty-eight on medicine, &c.

From literature one steps naturally to the fine arts; and here again a great number of eminent names might be mentioned in architecture, engraving, painting, sculpture, and music, but especially in the two latter, were it the object of this work to go into details.

Where literature is held in so much esteem, where science has such enthusiastic followers, where education is so general, and where Royalty identifies itself with the literary and scientific progress of the nation, it might be expected that learned institutions would spring up; so we find at Stockholm the "Academy of Belles-lettres," the "Academy of Sciences," the "Swedish Academy," &c., all working with one aim, and to one end—that of elevating the intellectual standard of the nation.

But Sweden is emphatically the land of song—the land of romance. As the modern civilization commenced late, the bard, in his character of legendary historian and moralist, comes nearer to the present time in Scandinavia than in other parts of Europe; while the spirit that illumined his lyrical verses appears to have inspired the pens of his immediate successors, and still fires a host of living poets, whose names are not generally known to Europe, but whose productions are admirable; to prove which we need mention but Tegner and Lidner, Geyer and Atterbom, Nybom and Malmström, though a dozen others might be given.

That the Swedes are imaginative and enthusiastic is not astonishing, for their whole history, from the days of Odin to the present time, is but a running romance of

two thousand years. In the annals of what nation are to be found more dark acts of superstition — more wild exploits of heroism — more foul deeds of horror! Such romantic attachments — such base treachery — such exalted courage — such noble actions — such fiery enthusiasm!

From Odin's self-sacrifice, to the human thousands sacrificed in his worship — from the Vikings' reckless daring, to the modern Kings' glories — from the bloody rites of paganism, to the persecutions of Lutheranism — from the traditions of females' devotion, to the history of women's courage — from the first Sovereigns with a god for their ancestor, to the Monarch descended from a French soldier — from the strains of their early minstrels, to the notes of their "Lind" — from the savage worker in stone, to Fogelberg and Bystrom — from the burning passions of their ancestors, to their present abandonment to pleasure — from pagan saturnalia, to Bacchanalian orgies — from the darkness of winter, to the long twilights of summer, there is romance and poetry about Sweden! Romance in the past — romance in the present — romance in the sagas of her dark days — romance in her history of yesterday; for what can be more romantic than the tale of the family now sitting on her throne!

THE END.

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